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Premier Karoly Grosz Assesses Pact Talks

LD1807103788 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, by Warsaw correspondent Jozsef Laszlo, following the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee discussions; in Warsaw, time not given; from the "The Week" program—recorded]

[Text] [Laszlo] Comrade Grosz, what are your impressions after the current session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee? What was the most important for us?

[Grosz] This consultation was very interesting for me, in view of the fact that this is the first such meeting in which I have taken part. It was extremely rich in thoughts, and everything which is preoccupying the world, preoccupying public opinion, was on the agenda.

Naturally, the delegations approached and examined the sets of topics in accordance with their own national interests and interpretations. Stemming from this they spoke about the issues with varying emphases, but it was extremely constructive, it was forward-pointing. Concerning the problems which emerged everywhere, methods were sought for the world to be taken forward. Big issues were dealt with, such as speeding up the pace of arms reduction, the problem of environmental protection, and naturally, as part of this, the problem of human rights, as well.

The Hungarian delegation paid special attention to the issue of human rights. We perceive, have perceived, and articulated that the individual and collective rights of nationalities constitute an organic part of human rights, and the nationality issues must be approached and resolved in the spirit of Leninist principles.

We thought that we rightfully could call for support from our partners—the same support for the resolution of the problems of their countries' nationalities as we must ensure for nationalities which live in our country. And we articulated with great emphasis our interpretation in connection with this.

We feel that the issues which arise, which exist, are real problems. They were not created by us; they arise from the past, but they have to be resolved in the present. Everyone approached them very constructively, and I also have to say that we accept and support the documents which fully assert the position of the Hungarian delegation.

I consider it very important that our proposal met with agreement, that a working group should be formed to work out and deal with humanitarian issues. (?This will be) at the foreign ministers' meeting, and this working group, properly speaking, should work out a code, on whose basis human rights should be interpreted, represented, and handled politically amidst socialist social conditions.

[Laszlo] Comrade Grosz, it is not long since the consultation ended. We already know that at the session there was no discussion of Hungarian-Romanian relations. What kinds of bilateral meetings were there, whom did you meet, with whom did you hold talks at the current consultations?

[Grosz] There could not be talk about Hungarian-Romanian relations because at the consultations, in general, there are usually no exchanges of views on bilateral relations. There has been no example of this in the history of the Political Consultative Committee, and to be sure, this will not happen. That is not the function of the organization.

Naturally, at the same time, I met Comrade Ceausescu; to be entirely precise, I went over to him and I introduced myself, since we had not yet met personally before. He congratulated me on my election as general secretary; I expressed my conviction that I trust that we will be able to work fruitfully together to resolve the issues which burden relations between the two countries at this moment.

But allow me to tell you that I met separately with other general secretaries, and with other colleagues as well. Comrade Honecker affirmed his earlier invitation, which will come in the near future, and Comrade Jakes also affirmed his invitation which (?he had made) earlier. Comrade Zhivkov invited me to visit Bulgaria.

Naturally, seeing that I was in a dual capacity, I met colleague prime ministers, with whom I have been acquainted, by the way, in the past. In the course of these discussions, there was talk about timely issues of bilateral economic cooperation.

Further Reportage on 44th CEMA Session

Marjai Speaks on CEMA Tasks

AU1507192188 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Jul 88 pp 1, 2

[MTI report on the 44th CEMA session held in Prague on 5 July and a speech delivered by Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of trade, permanent Hungarian CEMA representative, and head of the Hungarian delegation to the session: "The 44th CEMA Session Has Begun—Delegates of the Member Countries Discuss Issues of Economic Integration"]

[Excerpt] The 44th CEMA session began in Prague on 5 July. [passage omitted]

Jozsef Marjai addressed the morning session. He concluded that the economic and political reform processes under way in the Soviet Union and other countries, and the strengthening of openness and democratization are favorably influencing the world political developments.

The dialogue—unprecedented in previous decades—which has been established between the representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, between CEMA and the EEC, and between some socialist countries and the North Atlantic grouping and the Council of Europe, this dialogue demonstrates the common desire to answer the new international political and world economic challenges. At the same time, we should also admit that, whereas the community of the socialist countries has constructively responded to the military policy challenges, it has as yet been unable to adequately respond to the economic, scientific, and technological challenges of the capitalist world.

Recently we have witnessed events of historical importance from the point of view of the future economic, scientific, and technological development of our entire community. The recently concluded 19th CPSU Conference made a revolutionary step toward renewing socialist society and economy and creating a qualitatively new socialism. The resolutions of the party conference have launched and strengthened processes which will affect future CEMA development. These changes also contribute to widening the Hungarian reform process. We concur with this modern working style and the substance of the resolutions, and we think it is necessary that this spirit should also permeate the work done within CEMA as soon as possible.

The Hungarian People's Republic has a vital interest in ensuring that cooperation within the socialist community should contribute to strengthening the economic, scientific, and technological capacity of Hungary and the other CEMA member countries, contribute to developing a suitable production and exports structure which would be in harmony with the potential of each country and also with the interests of the entire community, and strengthen the positions of our countries and our economic community within the global division of labor. Because of the inability of the present mechanism of our cooperation to accomplish these goals, implementing a thorough reorganization is a historical necessity and an urgent task.

Consistently Developing Relations Between Money and Goods [subhead]

The requirement to perceptibly improve the efficiency of cooperation was uniformly formulated at the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session. However, opinions concerning the ways, the pace, and the methods required to increase this efficiency were and still are divided. We are convinced that without gradually and consistently developing the relations between goods and money, it will be impossible to achieve real progress in cooperation. In our mutual contacts it is impossible to lastingly ignore relations between goods and money, obstruct their implementation, and substitute administrative and organizational measures for them, particularly under the present economic conditions. At the same time, restructuring our system of cooperation along these lines will be a long-term process: It will presume complex and gradual implementation and the organically and mutually dependent steps will have decisive importance in it.

We have proposed that the subject of thoroughly reorganizing the mechanism of the integration, defining some stages of the reorganization, developing the substance of the stages, and of ensuring coordination between the measures should be dealt with by a separate CEMA organ, under the guidance of the Executive Committee.

Hungary has for a long time claimed that one of the basic reasons for the stagnation evident in our cooperation is the undeveloped state of our convertible currency system [valutaris penzugyi rendszer]. We often say that the system of multifaceted accounting implemented by means of the transferrable ruble has, in fact, been unable to live up to expectations. Bilateral accounting and the constraint of mutual balancing have continued to survive in our relations. As a result, trade among us cannot develop at an optimal pace, either.

We think we can only change this situation by establishing the interest of the member countries in achieving a surplus of exports. We think that the only way to achieve this is by making the transferrable ruble first partly, and then fully convertible. We already submitted our proposals on this issue at the 43d session. We have to state with regret that these proposals did not meet the support of our partners, although it would be possible to introduce partial convertibility within a short time and this could also affect the development of domestic producer price systems which adjust to both real rates of exchange and to world market prices. On this basis, we cannot consider the handling of convertible currency issues hitherto as satisfactory. We have been marking time for decades, we have not made any progress.

Establishing a Reliable International System of Standards [subhead]

In our opinion, CEMA cannot for long do without a reliable international system of standards which would enable individual CEMA member countries to reliably compare the level of their economic development with that of the other member countries and with the world market. In order to develop such a system of standards, we will have to be able to determine the actual cost of manufacturing a certain product domestically. For this purpose, it will be necessary to develop producer prices which are based on actual domestic investments, and which will enable us to eliminate the still widely used system of subsidizing prices from various central sources.

The second important measure required to establish the system of standards is to determine the relation between the domestic investment on a certain product and the price of this product on the world market. We will only

be able to do this when we make progress toward developing a realistic rate of exchange in trade, which will lead to establishing uniform rates for both exports and imports transactions, that is, to eliminating the present multiple rates of exchange.

The third element in the system of standards is the requirement to establish a vital connection between world market prices and price relations, and domestic producer prices and price relations by means of this commercial rate of exchange, and to continuously ensure that world and domestic prices should move together to some extent.

A Unified Market [subhead]

We think that establishing a unified market of the CEMA member countries is a very important task. However, to accomplish this it will be necessary to establish the necessary economic preconditions both in the interested member countries and on the community level.

As regards the work which has so far been done in the area of reorganizing the mechanism of cooperation, on the one hand, one can notice that the member countries do not show readiness to accept and implement finalized, developed, and detailed proposals which can be implemented in a short time. This causes further delay and does not contribute to development. We think that this is what happened with the ideas previously submitted by Hungary on the establishment of a convertible currency system. On the other hand, one can see that the changes already being proposed at the initial stage of reorganizing the mechanism of cooperation are so comprehensive that, in our opinion, they can only be implemented after the necessary preconditions have been carefully assessed and developed.

To establish a free trade zone, it will be necessary to introduce contingent-free trade, link domestic prices to world market prices, and establish currency convertibility. As regards the establishment of uniform CEMA customs, we think that, in addition to the above mentioned points, we should further develop or establish national systems of customs. As for the issue of a uniform CEMA currency, to create it we will first of all have to establish a collective convertible currency for the entire community; I think that this is so obvious that no particular explanation is needed here.

The Legal Bases of Cooperation [subhead]

Concerning modernizing the legal bases of cooperation, we think that this should be established on real results which have been accomplished in the economic sphere in the course of all three stages of reorganizing the mechanism of socialist economic integration. We judge that legal regulation in itself is incapable of alleviating difficulties which could not be solved by economic means.

It seems that the tendency to fulfill tasks in a formal manner instead of concentrating our forces on solving the essential and substantial issues, still prevails in the area of further developing the mechanism of cooperation.

Reorganizing the mechanism of socialist economic cooperation and increasing the role of the relations between goods and prices require both a gradual approach and decisive measures. We think that if radical change in this area does not occur within a short time, CEMA and the economic cooperation embodied by CEMA will seriously obstruct the inevitable reorganization processes which have already begun in some socialist countries, rather than promote them. Starting from this premise, we cannot consider as final the document submitted on reorganizing the mechanism of cooperation.

Relations With the EEC [subhead]

The economic development of the CEMA community is inconceivable without joining and actively participating in the global division of labor. It is particularly important for us to note the qualitatively new stage in the economic and political integration of the EEC to begin in 1992, a stage in which it will be necessary to jointly find new forms of cooperation between the European organizations of integration. We think that the joint CEMA-EEC communique is partly a result of positive processes under way in international life, and in itself also has a favorable effect on all European economic and political cooperation. At the same time, we have to take into consideration that the establishment of concrete contacts will not be easy, either, and further efforts will be needed to extend cooperation to areas which suit the interests of the CEMA member countries.

During our talks with the European community, we have consistently adhered to our position of principle and to asserting our rights for nondiscriminatory treatment deriving from our membership in the GATT.

We are convinced that the agreement between CEMA and the EEC, as well as the normalization of relations between individual CEMA member countries and the EEC are providing new opportunities at the CEMA level and also in bilateral relations; in the future we should further work on making reasonable and effective use of these opportunities.

Agriculture and Food Industry [subhead]

We favorably evaluate the initial steps to modernize the organizational structure of the representative bodies and the secretariat of CEMA. However, we do not at all consider the modernization of CEMA as a closed matter. In our opinion, the work done by CEMA should—parallel with further developing the mechanism of cooperation—increasingly shift toward functional activities, and the CEMA organization should ensure optimal frameworks for this. In the conclusion of his speech, Jozsef Marjai also spoke about issues of providing incentives for agricultural and food industry production. We continue to maintain that in this area, it is necessary to work out efficient solutions which are acceptable to both

exporter and importer countries. Comprehensive measures are being used by the most industrialized countries and their economic associations to ensure efficient economic conditions for agricultural and food production.

Marjai said that they are thinking of developing economic conditions within the CEMA system of cooperation which will, on the basis of common interests, substantially contribute to enable exporter countries with favorable natural capacities to continue and significantly contribute to supplying foods needed by the population of importer countries.

Atanasov Assesses Summit

AU0707183088 Sofia BTA in English
1745 GMT 7 Jul 88

["G. Atanasov on CMEA's 44th Session"—BTA headline]

[Text] Prague, July 7 (BTA)—The session, the spirit of the discussion, showed that the new thinking, the understanding of the objective and urgent need of deep restructuring in integration are penetrating the activity of CMEA, said here Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria.

In his opinion the 44th session of CMEA has passed under the influence of the political and creative impulse of the 19th CPSU Conference. This assessment, according to him, is not only an expression of the traditional respect to the CPSU.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government assessed as documents of key importance the adopted Concept for International Socialist Division of Labour During the 1991-2005 period and the special programmes for cooperation of the European CMEA member states with Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. The documents for the restructuring of the mechanism of socialist integration and the activity of CMEA, aiming at establishing of a united market of the CMEA member states were also estimated as significant by Mr Georgi Atanasov.

The next regular session of CMEA will take place in Sofia.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 7 July, in reporting the Atanasov statement, adds the clarification that Atanasov made the above statement during the CEMA summit session 'today'.]

CPCZ, Government 'Standpoint' on Session

AU1207193188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
9 Jul 88 p 1

["The Standpoint of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government on the 44th CEMA Session"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government on Friday [8 July] issued the following standpoint on the results of the 44th CEMA session:

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government discussed the results of the 44th CEMA session, which was held in Prague from 5-7 July 1988. The session addressed issues pertaining to shaping the new profile of the international socialist division of labor, restructuring the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration, and implementing a strategic document—the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA countries Through the Year 2000.

They voiced their full agreement with and appreciation for the conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and expressed the conviction that, with their inspiring profoundness, these conclusions will positively influence the further development of cooperation within the framework of CEMA.

They noted that the session reaffirmed the importance of cooperation and of the socialist economic integration of the CEMA member states as one of the key factors for transforming their economies to intensive development and ensuring the social and economic development of the individual CEMA states. At the same time, they stressed the urgency of resolving the restructuring of the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration, with the objective of further perfecting the coordination of the economic policy and of national economic plans, of broadly developing real [realne] money-market relations, and of creating in the future an integrated economic complex of CEMA member states with one market.

They noted the exceptional importance of the adopted documents and conclusions for the restructuring of the CSSR's economic mechanism and to ensure the CSSR's further social and economic development in accordance with the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

They voiced agreement with the assessment of the international situation that was made at the session, and in this connection they again underscored the importance of the results to date of the dialogue between the USSR and the United States for strengthening trust and peace in the world. They also agreed with the assessment that the normalization of relations between CEMA and the EEC, and the establishment of official relations between individual CEMA member states and the EC is a substantial contribution to the implementation of the CSCE Final Act, to improving the political climate in Europe and the world.

They valued the fact that the session was held in a spirit of frankness and critical exactness, comradely cooperation, mutual understanding, and the seeking of common approaches toward strengthening unity and resolving topical problems in CEMA's activity.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government approved the course of the Czechoslovak delegation at the 44th CEMA session and adopted measures to ensure the implementation of its conclusions. At the same time, they stressed the need to continue the Czechoslovak activities in CEMA, on the basis of a composite concept of the CSSR's involvement in the international division of labor.

U.S. INF Inspection Team Arrives in GDR

LD1807125288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1200 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 18 Jul (ADN)—Two groups of inspectors from the United States arrived in the GDR on 17 July. They intend to check the fulfillment of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles at locations where they are stationed in the GDR. The total of 20 inspectors were received at Leipzig's Schkeuditz Airport by representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the National People's Army, and the Soviet Army.

In accordance with the agreement between the GDR, the USSR the CSSR on inspections in connection with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the GDR is fulfilling its obligation to support the United States during its inspections on the territory of the GDR.

Two Soviet Bases Inspected

LD1907164788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1511 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 19 Jul (ADN)—On the evening of 18 July 1988, U.S. inspectors started their checks at the former Soviet Army missile site in Waren.

OTR-22 missiles were stationed there until February 1988. Their early removal was agreed on between the USSR and the GDR. As is known, these missiles were withdrawn before the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This step was acknowledged worldwide as an example of the will for peace.

A second group of U.S. inspectors started work today at the Koenigsbrueck Soviet missile site.

Both groups of inspectors from the U.S. have visited the GDR Ministry for National Defense and the Moscow Center for the Reduction of Nuclear Risks at the staff of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

Polish Ambassador Addresses Vienna CSCE

LD1907125388 Warsaw PAP in English 1137 GMT 19 Jul 88

[By PAP special correspondent Wlodzimierz Korzycki]

[Text] Vienna, July 19—Chairman of a Polish delegation, Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski took the floor at a plenary session of the Vienna CSCE meeting today to present the results of the Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee of states—parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

He stated that the contents of the documents adopted in Warsaw directly referred to CSCE debates and pointed to the importance of the appeal to promptly and successfully end the meeting. Poland's representative appealed to make special efforts, eliminate the still existing divergencies and adopt a balanced final document.

What Konarski termed as particularly significant for CSCE negotiations was the statement by states—parties to the Warsaw Treaty on reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments which constituted an expanded manifestation of those states' stand taken in advance of all-European disarmament negotiations within the CSCE to start still this year.

The Polish delegation conveyed the full texts of the documents of the Political Consultative Committee to participants in the CSCE meeting.

SFRY Delegate Speaks

LD1907134288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1117 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva, July 19 (TANJUG)—The drafting of a universal convention banning chemical weapons is a priority task, Yugoslav ambassador Marko Kosin told today's plenary session of the disarmament conference.

Kosin is Yugoslavia's permanent U.N. representative in Geneva.

Under the Yugoslav proposal, the existing level of agreement enables work on the convention to be speeded up. It could be signed next year at a special conference under U.N. auspices.

Kosin urged a comprehensive view on disarmament, including all its forms—nuclear, conventional, chemical and radiological, cosmic and others.

He said that conventional disarmament must be discussed with greater determination at the conference. This is not a question of balancing conventional arms, but of the fact that conventional weapons are used every day, that their destructive power is increased constantly as well as offensive potentials.

Kosin said it was not realistic to expect a reduction of nuclear weapons along with a standstill in conventional disarmament.

New possibilities have appeared in Europe for reducing conventional armaments which would contribute to further progress in nuclear disarmament.

Kosin expressed hope that the representatives of all 40 countries would invest efforts to prevent the arms race from spreading to space.

Outer space cannot be reserved solely for countries which have the technology to conquer it since it must be preserved for peaceful use and cooperation.

Kosin pointed out the need for agreement on measures to protect outer space from being further militarised with the introduction of new weapons.

Kosin reiterated Yugoslavia's proposal on introducing a moratorium on nuclear tests from August 5 this year, on the 25th anniversary of the signing of a partial nuclear test ban.

He said the outcome of the third special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament, which ended without a final document, increases and does not decrease the role of the conference as the international community's sole negotiation organ made up of representatives of 40 countries, including five nuclear powers.

The role is all the more important bearing in mind that funds for military research are growing to alarming proportions and that existing systems are being improved constantly and new ones created.

Labor, Trade Union Conference Held in Budapest
LD2406211588 Budapest MTI in English
2040 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 24 (MTI)—A three-day international consultation entitled "Challenges and Answers, Restructuring and Employment" opened at Lillafured on Friday. Organized by the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) and the state wages and manpower office, the consultation is attended by chief executive officials of 82 enterprises. Trade union leaders and economists from Hungary, Britain, the FRG, Sweden and the Soviet Union are to report on their experience and views on industrial restructuring.

Delivering a paper entitled "Social Reform and the Trade Unions", Sandor Nagy, SZOT general secretary, emphasized that the unions advocate the reforms. Then he dealt with the concrete tasks on which the unions have to take a resolute stand for instance the partnership law and wage reform.

According to the trade unions, the country cannot and should not wait with wage reform until the funds sufficient for major wage rises are available. On the contrary, unions hold wage reform as a precondition of starting the changes which may strengthen the income-generating capacity of the economic organizations and create the funds to be divided. These changes should start as soon as possible, from January 1, 1989.

Further papers were delivered by Edgar Prochnow, deputy president of the DGB trade union of North-Rhine Westphalia, Yevgeniy Afanasyev, deputy head of department at the Soviet State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs, Ragnar Lager, chief adviser of the Stockholm-based institute for Labour Studies, and Collin Love, Professor of Nottingham Polytechnic.

Children's Assembly in Sofia Concludes 20 Jul
AU2007104538 Sofia BTA in English
0930 GMT 20 Jul 88

["Fourth Children's Assembly Ends"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 20 (BTA)—The Fourth Banner of Peace International Children's Assembly Sofia'88 has ended.

Participants in the meeting, which was attended by children from 120 countries, flocked today to the Banner of Peace monument at the foot of Mount Vitosha. The monument symbolizes the movement which works under the motto "unity, creativity, beauty." Guests of honour of the assembly and officials were also present at the assembly.

The children paid floral tribute to the bas-relief of Lyudmila Zhivkova, who initiated the ten-year-old international children's movement. The first assembly was organised in 1979, the International Year of the Child. The meetings take place every three years. The fourth one was held under the patronage of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, and of Mr Federico Mayor Zaragoza, director general of UNESCO, who paid an official visit to this country during the assembly proceedings.

Between July 10 and 20, the children took part in reviews of creativity, travelled around Bulgaria and met prominent intellectuals. The world children's parliament met in session and adopted an appeal for peace to the heads of state and government, to the political parties and public organisations, to all people. The children's parliament empowered the participants in the assembly to deliver to appeal to their countries' heads of state and government.

In their statements, the children thanked the heads of international organizations, the statesmen, political figures, scientists and artists who had sent greetings addresses to the fourth assembly. Addressing the closing ceremony here today, Mr Vladimir Zhivkov, director general of the Banner of Peace Center, also expressed gratitude to everbody who adhered, through their greetings messages, to the ideas of the movement. He told his audience that their unity and friendship will provide the most reliable defence of peace and invited them to meet in Sofia again.

Superpowers Collaborate To Protect Interests
AU1807164588 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Jul 88 p 4

[Arben Karapici article: "The United States and the USSR Strengthen Military Cooperation"]

[Text] The first official visit of the chief of staff of the Soviet Army, Akhromeyev, to the United States of America, which ended on 12 July, was accompanied by great commotion on both sides. Akhromeyev's tour of the United States, which began on 5 July, was considered "a new phase" in Soviet-American contacts. Like Washington, Moscow is also extremely interested in raising the level of relations of all kinds, and is convinced that the significant strengthening of military relations which this visit inaugurated represents a higher level of cooperation between the two superpowers.

During the visit, the Soviet marshal met and held talks with his American colleague, Admiral William Crowe, and President Reagan. He visited many American Army training facilities and other specialized military institutions in the United States. In a joint communique issued at the end of his visit, Akhromeyev and Crowe assessed their talks about cooperation between the Soviet and American military staffs, and emphasized that the two countries will create a joint working group for "the prevention of military incidents" between them. "We understand that our methods of troop exercises worry the West and, bearing this concern in mind, we covered it in our talks," Akhromeyev said. The chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Army stressed that it is in the interest of their policies to coordinate their military strategies.

As emerged from the communique, the Soviet-American cooperation program in the military field is an intensive and concentrated one. It includes reciprocal visits of military officials of all ranks, visits of the warships of the two countries to each other's ports, the observation of nuclear tests at their respective test sites, and so forth. The increase of major Soviet-American cooperation in the military field emerges clearly from what was said in Washington during Akhromeyev's visit, and from the agreements that have been reached and will be reached in the future. It is clear that this increase of bilateral cooperation occurs at a time when problems of the turnover of weaponry, of existing military structures, regional conflicts, and so forth, have become very acute in the relations between the superpowers. For this purpose, Washington and Moscow are seeking to keep step in such a way as not to encroach upon, but rather to guarantee, their interests within and beyond their respective zones of influence. The Washington communique expresses these common American and Soviet aims, hidden behind its phrases about the so-called "defensive nature of the military doctrines of the United States and the USSR."

What kind of defense the military doctrines of the two superpowers involves is obvious from the bilateral talks on recent developments in the Persian Gulf region, in which the Soviet marshal maintained silence over the criminal American attack on the Iranian civil airliner, confining himself to saying that he was "not aware of the full details of the incident." By this it may be understood that the Soviet Union and the United States accept each other's intervention and open military activity to the extent of criminal attacks in other regions, when their interests as superpowers demand them. With the great commotion raised in Washington about the "defensive nature" of their military doctrines and the coordination of staffs in this field, Washington and Moscow seek to distract the attention of the peoples of Europe and the world at large from the grave dangers posed by hegemonist American and Soviet policies. They also seek to conceal the other major fact that superpower interventions are increasing, and are fanning the flames of war, in the Middle East, Central America, Southeast Asia, and central Africa.

It is not by chance that Sergey Akhromeyev and William Crowe advertise their so-called constructive military dialogue as a way of solving severe international problems and maintaining peace. It is a question of attracting the support of international public opinion to the open and secret military and political haggling they are involved in, or are thinking of embarking on in the future. The United States and the USSR aim at obtaining not only the support of the peoples of the world for this bargaining, but their acceptance of the decisions that emerge from bilateral Soviet-American treaties. The talks of a military nature organized by the United States and the Soviet Union at all levels are accompanied in practice by militaristic measures, and neither deceive nor scare the people, who from their experience of life understand ever more clearly the necessity of opposing the superpowers' militaristic and warmongering plans.

Comparison of Editorials on CPSU Conference

AU1207145188 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 9 July published on page four a 1,700-word article by Shaban Murati entitled "The 19th Conference and its Reforms in the Political System." The ZERI I POPULLIT article was compared with the Tirana ATA English version published in the 13 July 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 8-9, and was found to be identical, apart from the following variations:

Page eight, column one, between first and second paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional paragraph:

...the nationalities etc.

The problems tackled and the decisions adopted were numerous, but the major ones, those constituting the pivotal point of the conference, pertain to political reforms, to changes in the political system. The packet of

measures affects and transforms the country itself, the role of the party and of the soviets, as well as the structures, links, and relations between them.

In fact the....

Page eight, column one, between second and third paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional paragraph:

...in the world.

The Voice of America hailed the reforms approved by the conference as "the most radical change in the Soviet system since the October Revolution." TANJUG termed it as "the most important political change since Lenin's time." And the Pope of Rome described them as "processes that are compatible with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church."

The extraordinary conference....

Page eight, column two, between first and second full paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional paragraph: ...of its levers. The references to Lenin for this upheaval in the party-state relationship are nothing but speculation from beginning to end. His principled thesis that there is no such thing as a genuine proletarian authority without the indivisible guiding role of the Communist Party, and that it cannot exist without this role, is well-known.

As seems Gorbachev....

Page eight, column two, between third and fourth full paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional paragraph:

...in the party.

His words that the political reforms "must eliminate the possibility of the usurpation and abuse of authority" are ominous. It is clear that this entire new mechanism serves to increase the authority and absolute rule of one person.

This is also....

Page nine, column one, between first and second paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional paragraph:

...any concrete measure. It limited itself to proclaim that intra-ethnic relations commissions would be attached to the Supreme Soviet, as well as the republican and local soviets, and that a special plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the question of nationalities would be held.

In a sign....

Page nine, column one, between third and fourth paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional paragraph:

...adapted to it.

As in the case of the economic base, the reforms in the superstructure also lead in one direction only, in the direction of capitalism and of the western bourgeois order. The new society....(supplying additional passages)

Alia Greets Nicaragua's Ortega on National Day

AU1807185588 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following greetings telegram to Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua:

On the occasion of the anniversary of the national day of the Republic of Nicaragua, I have the pleasure of sending warm greetings to you, and through you to the friendly Nicaraguan people, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and on my own behalf.

I wish your people happiness, progress, and fresh successes in their struggle for the freedom and independence of their own country, and against the plots and intrigues of imperialism and reaction.

I would like to use this opportunity to express the conviction that the friendly relations between our countries will continually develop.

Importance of Economic Logic Emphasized

AU1307190788 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE No 6 in Albanian Jun 88 pp 51-60

[Priamo Bollano and Sokrat Proko article: "Let Us Further Raise the Consultative and Operative Force of Economic Thinking and Logic"]

[Excerpts] As the conceiver and definer of the party's economic policy and of the plans for the development of our socialist economy and culture, Comrade Enver Hoxha was at the same time the inspirer and initiator of the creation of that great army of cadres, including economists, financial experts, and statisticians, as one of the very important pillars of the application of the principle of self-reliance. The constant elevation of the consultative and operative force of economic thinking and logic in the process of drafting and implementing the plans for the development of our economy and culture, was also the object of his constant attention.

Following the implementation of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and instructions, particularly those given at the Vlore District AWP aktiv on 21 March 1977

pertaining to the increase in the operative and consultative force of finances in the process of drafting and implementing our plans; in his 22 April 1988 [date as published] discussion at the AWP Central Committee Politburo on the further consolidation of economic logic and thinking in order to prevent negative phenomena in the economic and financial fields; and in his magnum opus of profound topical undertone entitled "On the Seventh 5-Year Plan," economic thinking and logic are increasingly better leading in resolving problems confronting the country's dynamic development. Throughout this entire process the economists, statisticians, and financial experts have suggested solutions and measures pertaining to the development of productive forces and to perfecting special aspects of socialist production relations, and have identified problems related to the proportional development and priorities deriving from the laws of expanded socialist reproduction.

The fifth AWP Central Committee plenum and Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech at the Vlore District AWP Committee plenum have also opened up new visions and prospects for the work of economists, statisticians, and financial experts, particularly with regard to placing the creative and intellectual potential of cadres increasingly better and more fully in the service of the country's socioeconomic development. Serving as a guide for action, they simultaneously arouse a lot of ideas, stimulate individuals to confront great problems, and set in motion unexpected potential, further increasing the consultative and operative force of economic thinking and logic in attaining all the objectives of the 1988 plan and of the 5-year period as a whole, and in setting in motion all the driving forces of our society in the interest of the incessant development of expanded socialist reproduction, relying entirely on our own resources and forces.

The thesis that the socialist economy, by its very substance and objective, is a planned economy directed on the basis of a single state plan, drafted and coordinated a priori, is fully argued and scientifically verified with an iron logic in Comrade Enver Hoxha's theoretical thinking and revolutionary action. He has dealt with the planned development of the economy as a general law of the construction of socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed as early as 1947 that "the planned economy is the road that will lead us to socialism," (Enver Hoxha, "Works," Vol 4, p 90).

Proceeding from this law, the increased consultative and operative force of economic thinking and logic must be reflected, primarily, in the process of drafting realistic and scientific plans capable of mobilizing the masses, and it must also gain in depth in the course of their implementation. Only in this way, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, can we achieve the correct development of socioeconomic processes, the incessant consolidation of the economy and its stability, the successful confrontation with all unexpected developments arising from the savage imperialist and revisionist encirclement, unfavorable climatic conditions, the difficulties of growth, and the constant development of expanded socialist reproduction. Only through such a plan can the considerable present and future material, technical, financial, and human reserves available to our socialist socioeconomic order be fully utilized and placed in the service of our economic development.

The fact that the narrow empirical and pre-industrial concept that reduces the process of drafting our plans, be they annual or longer-term, to an ordinary and mechanical process carried out in some offices in the form of a simple compilation of charts and figures, has been longsince overcome constitutes a great victory for the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. What predominates currently is the correct concept that views planning as the most important and genuinely scientific, study, and generalizing work, as a very important instrument in the hands of our party and of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the development of the economy and culture completely in the interest of the broad working masses, to constantly raise their material and cultural well-being, and to strengthen the country's defense potential.

It is on this basis that, under the guidance of the party organizations, numerous rural and urban collectives in various districts and branches of the economy have undertaken and fulfilled increasingly more solid tasks. This is verified by the results and achievements in the coal, copper, ferro-nickel, and chemical industries, in the engineering enterprises, and in particular enterprises of the light and food industry. This is also verified by the great efforts made by the cooperativists to increase the production of agricultural and livestock products, and particularly by the achievement of many districts in meeting ahead of schedule the entire needs of their rural population with milk through the production of the smaller herds at brigade level.

As is shown by the practice of our socialist construction, however, the scientific level of planning in the framework of the national economy, the branch, district, enterprise, or cooperative is conditional on the methods applied to draft the plans, on the preparatory study and analytical work carried out, which must precede the drafting of plans. The plan, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, is a synthesis of a great deal of study and scientific work carried out at all levels of the organization and management of the economy. It is based on contemporary scientific and technical data, on the attainments of the more advanced, and on the scientific norms of labor and material expenditure. [passage omitted]

The increased consultative and operative force of economic thinking and logic is achieved by establishing a correct relationship between the daily work of registering data, on the one hand, and study, analytical, and generalizing work, on the other, as well as between present and future problems. This aspect of the method and style of work is related to the struggle that must be waged against

the concept that reduces the work of economists in general to a matter of merely registering various data, observing various phenomena, and describing events. On the contrary, the work of economists and financial experts reflects the activity of a person with broad vision and interests who, practically following up the fulfillment of plans, is also able to continually analyze the problems that are arising, who suggests ways of overcoming difficulties and utilizing internal resources, who stimulates and supports positive trends and advanced experience, who is capable of meeting head-on unexpected problems hindering the fulfillment of plans, and so forth.

Naturally, economists and financial experts will also collect data and make observations. To manage large-scale socialist production at the present level of socialization, cooperation, and specialization, and under the conditions of the mutual operation of various factors, the need for a complete and precise economic and financial information becomes an inevitable and absolute necessity, as is shown also by our revolutionary practice. Without such information, it is impossible to speak about an accurate knowledge of production, or about a scientific management of socioeconomic, cultural, and demographic processes at every level of management.

The role of economic and financial information has constantly grown, in accordance with the party's directives and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, throughout the system of the management and organization of the economy and of every aspect of the country's life. The statistical observation and registration of the trends of expanded socialist reproduction has been extended and improved. Generally, complete and multifaceted information has been attained through the system of operative and statistical data collection, or through partial enquiries and observations, this being essential in drafting the socioeconomic development plans, in following up their implementation, in generalizing the advanced experience and positive trends, in carrying out various studies, and so forth.

But despite the good results attained, certain deficiencies and weaknesses are still being observed, which must be overcome as quickly as possible through more careful work. Some economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives in the districts of Kukes, Gramsh, Skrapar, Elbasan, Lushnje, Mirdite, and Kruje are still not working out their statistical data on time and there are also delays in their delivery to their respective district executive committees. Despite some improvement, there are no rare deficiencies pertaining to the quality of the data reported. Violation of statistical data discipline is observed particularly on the part of some agricultural cooperatives concerning their industrial production, the number of cattle, data pertaining to the supply of their members with products, deliveries, and investments; other enterprises and branches of the economy fail to provide accurate data on the movement of commodities, the utilization of machinery, expenditure on protection against accidents, and so forth.

It is obvious that both tardiness in dispatching statistical data and the inaccuracy of the statistical data provided, reduces the value of such information as an instrument of management and as a means of control. The provision of inacccurate data, in fact, not only conceals a true situation, but cultivates also a sense of euphoria and numbs the creative and innovative spirit of the masses in their efforts to overcome difficulties. [passage omitted]

Relying on the demands of the objective economic laws of socialism and on our party's economic policy, as well as the mass of data available to them, economists, financial experts, and statisticians have the opportunity to carry out general analyses, to draw important conclusions on the trend of expanded socialist reproduction, the degree of influence of various factors, the effectiveness of past work, reflected in the material expenditure of production, and of current work, reflected in wages; specific problems pertaining to the development of productive forces and of the improvement of socialist production relations; production and distribution problems, the highly efficient use of socialist accumulation in conformity with priorities, the degree of application of priorities deriving from the laws of socialist reproduction, and so forth. [passage omitted]

'City of Poros' Attack Seen as Welcome to U.S.

AU1907102588 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Jul 88 p 4

[Major Vladi Vladkov: "International Weekly Review"]

[Text] The attack on the Greek passenger ship "City of Poros" shocked the world with the inhuman criminal acts committed by terrorists. As is known, as a result of this ruthless attack 9 people were killed, over 60 people were injured, and 11 people are considered to have disappeared without trace.

While the police in our neighbor country are alert and devoting all their efforts to the pursuit of the criminals, experts and journalists, in their commentaries, are involved in disputes about the possible causes and motives of the attackers. Naturally, these people do not seem to be moved by lofty goals, since such goals can only be pursued by noble means.

As is known, international tourism is one of the main sources of income for Greece. The terrorists' attack was directed precisely against this source of income. If we look back at the recent past, we can recall that following a similar action at Athens airport, President Reagan appealed to the U.S. public not to visit Greek summer resorts for security reasons. At that time the Greek Government reacted sharply to this undeserved discrimination. We can also recall that this happened at the height of negotiations about U.S. military bases in Greece.

The situation is similar today. According to REUTER, a few days ago the Greek Government sent a letter to the U.S. Embassy in Athens in which it stressed that the military bases should be removed from the country by the middle of 1990. This attitude, naturally, was not in accordance with the taste of the White House. Thus, it looked for means of exerting pressure on Greece. How? The best way of exercising such pressure would be to damage the tourist traffic. In this respect the action against the "City of Poros" was welcome. Taking advantage of this situation, the United States could try, through various financial manipulations, to further protract the negotiations about the military bases and gain the greatest profit from them.

Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou expressed the anger and indignation of the Greek people, who denounced these barbaric actions, aimed, in the long run, against innocent citizens and against the moral values of contemporary civilization.

Government Decree on New Wage System Published

AU1907140988 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] In Issue No 54 of the DURZHAVEN VESTNIK is published Decree No 20, dated 4 July 1988, of the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions concerning creating conditions for introducing the new system of basic wages. It is pointed out that the new system of basic wages is introduced by the self-managing organizations with the obligatory observance of the following conditions:

The labor collectives are to accept the installations of socialists property for management and administration, except for those cases where this is not required, and are to approve measures to raise labor productivity, reduce numbers of staff, make effective use of the machinery, equipment, raw and other materials, and energy, and produce goods of guaranteed quality.

In the case of the economic organizations, the necessary means for introducing the system of basic wages are provided within the framework of the "Wages" Fund, as defined according to the Code for Economic Activity; while, in the case of the budget organizations, the means are to be provided from the funds established for them for wages. The basic wages of the workers, specialists, and leaders serve as a basis for determining their individual labor remuneration in accordance with the results achieved from the work they have put in. The decree also indicates the supplements that may be paid in addition to the new wages, which are defined in accordance with the instructions of Council of Ministers Decree No 66 of 1987.

The decree supersedes the Uniform System of Tariffs and the Uniform Payroll Table; the instruction on creating additional material incentives when determining the work force, adopted by Council of Ministers Decree No 120 of 1962; Decree No 5 of 1977 on further improving the organization of wages; Order No. 510 of 1970 of the Committee for Economic Production Sharing; and a number of other normative documents that are detailed in the concluding instructions of the decree. Amendments are made to the instruction on additional labor remuneration for unfavorable and other specific working conditions and to the instruction on labor remuneration in special cases. These amendments will be applied from the date when the new system of basic wages is introduced for each of the self-managing organizations.

Chief Prosecutor Interviewed on Self-Management

AU0107162388 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian Issue No 26 27 Jun 88 pp 1, 8-9, 10

[Interview with Vasil Mruchkov, chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, by a team of POGLED reporters, edited by Maria Atanasova: "Self-Management and Legality"; —date and place not given]

[Text] Property (which also means power) is now being transferred to the labor collectives and municipalities in our country. Self-management started with the most important sectors of our life—the economic sphere and the territorial communities. Self-management is expected to be further introduced in the fields of education, science, and culture.

Vasil Mruchkov, chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, professor and doctor of legal sciences, was a guest of our editorial board and the questions we asked him, reflect the interests of the majority of our readers.

Maria Atanasova: We thank you for responding to our invitation. The subject is rather extensive and we can hardly deal with all its aspects at today's meeting. We would like to ask you to try to explain the most substantial elements of the relationship between self-management and legality.

Vasil Mruchkov: Self-management is an activity implemented within the framework of the law and through the law. The law determines the authorized powers of the self-managing communities, such as labor collectives, municipalities, townships, and so forth. All the decisions they are adopting must conform with the powers authorized by law. The framework is wide, but nevertheless it exists. If the self-managing communities should go outside this framework, the state puts into operation the available mechanisms likely to prevent such encroachments. For this reason the decisions of self-managing organizations and organs are generally subject to verification that they conform to the law, both when the decisions are taken, and in general, when the powers, granted them by self-management are being implemented.

As a result of all this, self-management is a power determined and settled by law. It is an organized and purpose-oriented activity, which promotes the independence, initiative, and energies of the self-managing communities and of the individual. Self-management has nothing in common with anarchy, with arbitrary and self-willed action.

On the other hand, the fact that self-management grants extensive powers, more than ever requires higher standards of legal education. It requires a better acquaintance of the self-managing communities, of their leaders, and of individual citizens with the law in exercising self-management. This is even more necessary if we keep in mind that a certain nihilist attitude to law and legal order has developed in our country over the years. The historical roots of this attitude may be based on the confrontation between the individual and the legal order which is forcing a general system of law and order upon him from the "outside." This, however, is a question for mass psychologists and legal historians.

Nevertheless, it is necessary today to intensify the citizen's respect for the law. Requirements for the observance of laws under the conditions of self-management equally apply to ordinary citizens and to officials, to managements, as well as to all state and social organs, and organizations.

Self-management is alive and is now about to accomplish its first steps. It turns out to be more difficult than administration from above, because it requires more thought, more initiative, and more resourcefulness, as well as a better general knowledge, compared with the situation under the centralized administration, which required obedience and subordination, above all. As a matter of fact, resistance against self-management, even when it is not conscious has profound, historical and epistemological roots in the psychological adaptation of different types of leaders and ordinary citizens who have developed, been formed, and educated in the recent past.

This is why, in the initial period of transition to self-management we may also expect an increase in violations of the law. This results from a lack of knowledge about self-management and about legislation pertaining to the implementation of self-management, as well as from unconscious, or conscious resistance against self-management under the influence of old habits and routine. The facts have confirmed this expectation: By the end of 1987 the Chief Prosecutor's Office conducted investigations under general supervision at the Industry For Man and the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry associations which established 12,800 cases in which violations of law had been committed. This figure is very impressive as a quantitative index of the deviation from law, as well as from the point of view of the approach to legality under self-management conditions.

Encho Gospodinov: I was impressed by your statement on nihilist attitudes regarding the laws. There are certainly many reasons for this, and you should know them better. However, one of these reasons is that we are still not all equal before the law, and another reason is that many things are forbidden to Bulgarian citizens and this provokes a certain reaction. I would like to ask you: Is the "speed" in applying changes to our legal system comparable to the speed of changes in legislation taking place in the Soviet Union, in Hungary, France, or Britain?

Vasil Mruchkov: The question of prohibitions in socialist law is based on the administrative methods of management in society. If we should search for the historical roots of this phenomenon, we should go back 60 years to the first socialist state in the world. I am not talking about the period of military communism, which was an exceptional period in the history of Soviet Russia. However, following 1929, under actual peace-time conditions, the development of the New Economic Policy [NEP] was interrupted, and the Soviet country returned to the system of war communism of the 1918-20 period. In V.I. Lenin's famous 45th volume of his Collected Works, we can find many valuable truths which apply to the present-day period. I am saying this because scientific and historical research point out today, that the economic methods of management in social life need less compulsory measures, while administrative methods require more. They have established a series of prohibitions and are prescribing to citizens and economic organizations what exactly they are supposed to do. This results in clogging our social life with numerous prescribed norms of behavior.

In our country today we are in the process of a transition to exactly established prohibitions and to the creation of wider opportunities as regards the behavior of citizens and self-managing organizations. This principle is incorporated in Article 5, Paragraph 1 of the Code on Economic Activities.

Article 6 of the same document established 7 prohibitions, apart from which everything is allowed. This applies only to part of our social relations—namely, to the economic activities of the organizations. I am not talking about a global settlement of social relations. This approach is applicable to the future legislative settlement of social relations in other spheres, according to their specific nature and peculiar features. However, it needs to be substantiated and should be applied in accordance with the respective areas.

Less restrictions exist in Western legislation, especially in the economic sector. This stems from the fact that the bourgeois legislation and economic management have not introduced any changes in the historical principles and foundations of capitalism regarding the liberalization of economy.

The "speed" in changing normative documents is great. Even the Penal Code, which by definition should be one of the most stable laws in social administration, has been amended 12 times over the last 20 years. Part of the amendments in legislation is a result of dynamic social development. Under the present-day circumstances we cannot require a piece of legislation, such as the Napoleonic Code of 1804. As a result, part of the reasons for the changes in legislation stem from objective processes which are taking place in our country, but this is not all.

I think that in developing our legislation, the objective laws of social development are not sufficiently considered, because we are not familiar with them. I would also add the excessive haste and subjective attitudes in adopting administrative decisions, which are embodied in legal norms. The normative document has not yet "started to operate" in order to reveal its positive aspects, but we are in a hurry to amend it, thus destroying its positive qualities. For this reason the citizens are unable to accept normative documents, to assimilate them, and apply them to their own behavior.

Zorka Krusteva: You said that the respect of the citizens and of certain organs for the law should be enhanced. How can this be, if this law is not equal for all, if everyone is not obliged to observe it equally. I think that this is the reason for the lack of respect.

Vasil Mruchkov: The question has two sides: equality of the citizens in law and equality of the citizens in applying the law. Full equality of citizens in law is not possible. The law has to take account of the general and the particular regarding the individual categories of citizens, and to provide them with certain rights and obligations according to their state of health, sex, education, demonstrated and proven capabilities, achievements, and so on. The basic, most important requirement in these cases is that the law should be just, even when it provides inequal rights for inequal conditions. Citizens accept the law with a feeling that it is an established fact, even when they don't agree with it. One can't argue with the law, it is enough that it is applied fairly and equally, with all the regulations and exceptions that it contains.

In my view, the problem of citizen's equality at this stage lies in the equal application of the law, that is, in the second part of your question. This affects most sensitively, and in some cases, painfully the sense of justice of citizens, and rightfully so. This means doing away with interceding on people's behalf, informal ways of settling things, getting round the law, and seeking various means of bringing influence to bear on prosecutors and the court organs to obtain a favorable decision on the case in question. Here no account is taken of the fact that the "favorable decision" on the case is not always in conformity with the law. However, all this is difficult to swallow.

These issues concern the whole of society, but they directly affect the work of the prosecutors and court organs. The struggle is not an easy one. Even the organs that dispense justice commit errors. However, citizens "hunt for" signs of foreign intervention behind these errors. Pressure is brought to bear, and a breakthrough sought by both of the interested parties, including citizens who otherwise are deeply shocked by and sincerely condemn intercessions on people's behalf.

Of course, the main and determining feature for us in these cases is not to give way to one suggestion or another, to an dramatic display or bias in presenting the case, but to carefully check it through once again and then, if a wrong has been committed, to correct it in accordance with the requirements of justice and the law.

Mariya Bekyarova: The peasants around Sofia have the saying: "Law is a gate to the field." Have you any observations to make on who violates the law the more, ordinary citizens or those clothed in authority?

Vasil Mruchkov: The majority of crimes and offences are committed by ordinary citizens. Statistically speaking, they are greater in numbers than the leading officials, and the proportional relationship as regards numbers is also preserved with regard to offences committed. If a chief has a road accident in his own Lada, no one will attach more importance to it than if a doorkeeper in an institution had had the accident. Indignation arises when the chief makes efforts to "cover up" the affair, but he has more opportunity to do so than the doorkeeper.

Of course, the question also has another, more important aspect. I am referring to offences against the law that those "with the trappings of power" commit in their official capacity, such as making use of their official

position, job-related crimes, misappropriations in the course of one's duty, bribes, and so on. This type of offence gives cause for alarm, not only because of the absolute numbers of such offences, but also because of their seriousness, because of shaking the faith of citizens. Accordingly, the implacability of the law-enforcement organs and the entire public toward such offences must be especially strong.

Mariya Filipcheva: I have the feeling that only theoreticians take part in drawing up the laws, not practical people with experience on the particular issue. This may be the reason why, after a law has come into force, it has to be altered because it does not correspond to practical life.

Vasil Mruchkov: Drafting the law is difficult and responsible work. Naturally, lawyers take a predominant part in this, because the creation of a law is a professional juridical and important state activity. Of course, the law must be a matter for lawyers who have a perfect command of the Bulgarian literary language, legal terminology, and legal (legislative) techniques. It is particularly important to have a fundamental grasp of the social relationships and the matter to be regulated. There are laws that cannot be created solely by lawyers, because of the specific nature of the material that is to be regulated by law, such as the Law on National Health, the Law on the Use of Nuclear Power for Peaceful Purposes, and so on. Specialists of the relevant fields are brought in to help prepare such laws.

The Labor Code was prepared with the assistance of sociologists, economists, and other experts. This proved to be very useful. Another extreme, however, is beginning to prevail in our country, namely that normative documents, which fall under the law, are drawn up by people without legal education, and without any special legal training. I consider this dangerous, since drawing up a law is not only a question of mastering the vocabulary, the grammar, and word order of the Bulgarian language. In this connection we also have to search for the optimal solution, which is most difficult to achieve, namely to combine the skill of practicing lawyers with the knowledge of theoreticians, of people with common sense and life experience, and of specialists from other fields of knowledge, depending on the nature of the law.

Yasen Boychev: Is there a mechanism of dispensing a law which prevents or at least restricts the pressure of the higher echelons of the administrative hierarchy, including the superior organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, upon the work of law courts—at a rayon, city, or okrug level, and so forth?

Vasil Mruchkov: The constitutional principle of the independence of law courts and prosecutor's offices, the principle of their subordination to the law creates legal obstacles preventing interference in the work of these institutions. The amendments to the law on the organization of law courts adopted in 1982, according to which judges of rayon and okrug courts are elected by the National Assembly, and by the State Council between sessions of the National Assembly, are aimed at this goal.

I could limit myself to this statement in answering your question. However, I will frankly add that the mechanism proved insufficiently effective, especially in the practice of its application. Let us further add an important clarification: Interceding on someone's behalf, or interference in the work of the legal organs is taking a more refined and subtle form nowadays. It begins by manifesting interest in a certain case, followed by the request that this question should be analyzed and fully clarified, finally resulting in an attempt to exert influence. Such cases actually exist. We are struggling against them by relying on the political decisions of the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and on the decisions of the BCP National Conference which denounced any forms of interference into the work of legal and prosecution organs, wherever they may come from, in dealing with legal cases.

We are trying to educate our cadres in this spirit, in defense of the law. Under the present circumstances, however, the actual dependence of territorial (rayon and okrug) legal and prosecution organs upon local party and state organs in solving official, everyday life, and domestic problems, acquires a special importance. The questions of the conditions under which our cadres are working and living depend upon the aforementioned organs.

Your profession as journalist requires great civil courage, but if you could identify yourself for one day, or for one year with a judge, or public prosecutor living in a province "face to face" with the people who are exerting the power, and if you assume that this judge, or prosecutor has the human weakness of not knowing his place, you would realize that his situation is by no means easy. On the other hand, the work of a judge, or prosecutor, according to its very nature often generates dissatisfaction, because in the settlement of legal disputes one side always remains unsatisfied. This work is controversial in itself, in the sense that an interference is required to settle a given conflict and to establish legal peace. On the other hand, this is the source of the unique fascination and national importance of this activity.

Our colleagues' work in local legal organs is hard. This is the basis of the problems and not the constant open interference in the work of courts and prosecutor's offices. I think that information stemming from street gossip in this respect is not accurate. People, however, very easily accept gossip and rumors as the truth. There is certainly a reason for this, but it is not the subject of this interview.

Mariana Nikolova: Can you describe the most important problems you were confronted with when you assumed the duties of chief prosecutor?

Vasil Mruchkov: My appointment coincided with the decision of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat of 24 June 1987 on the notorious trial against Vanyo Aleksandrov who was sentenced for the assassination of his wife. The real murderer was later unmasked and sentenced. This decision dealing with a specific penal case reviewed the work of the prosecution, the supervision of the prosecutor's office of the process of investigation, and the role of confession as evidence—generally speaking everything that is defined as a penal case. We were obliged to draw conclusions from this evaluation and to adopt practical measures for improving our work. This was in accordance with the spirit of restructuring.

Chavdar Krumov: If we accept that in dispensing the law there are really shortcomings, why is it that over the last 20 years, even the few critical remarks addressed against the legal organs have been treated with great hostility and it always turns out that the legal authorities are right, while the journalists are wrong. A normative document exists, according to which mass media cannot express their views, or write about legal cases, as long as no final verdict has been pronounced. Since, according to the Constitution, judges are independent in adopting verdicts, is the aforementioned document in conformity with the Constitution, namely are the judges afraid that in certain cases, a newspaper may defend a thesis like a lawyer?

Vasil Mruchkov: The normative document you are mentioning is the decree on dealing with critical articles, adopted in 1977. According to Article 3 of this document, critical articles are not supposed to take a stand on court proceedings, as long as a court decision has not gone into effect. I think that the fundamental idea of this document is correct. I agree with it because it defends two great social assets, namely the independence of law dispensing organs and our confidence in public opinion. I also think that it protects the mass media against hasty, one-sided information. The more so since, in certain cases, when the information is supplied, the lack of the necessary professional training on legal issues, is "made good" by journalistic sensationalism, which does not always coincide with the truth.

Judges and prosecutors are by no means "afraid" that "the newspaper may, in certain cases, defend a thesis like lawyer" simply because they are used to the presence of the lawyer in a legal case, but they are not used to seeing a newspaperman playing the role of a lawyer. They have confidence in the mass media as heralds of truth. Do not try to deprive us of this confidence.

I do not agree with the statement that the legal organs are treating critical articles about shortcomings in dispensing the law "with hostility." I categorically state that investigations are conducted in the Chief Prosecutor's Office about every critical remark appearing in the newspapers and pertaining to shortcomings in dispensing the law. Depending upon the results of such investigations, prosecutor's reports are annulled and proposals are made for them to be reviewed as part of the supervisory process. We are grateful to you for such remarks. We prepare and submit answers to the newspapers. However, whenever these answers do not agree with the facts reported in the critical articles, certain newspapers are not in a hurry to publish the answer. They take advantage of the privilege that printer's ink and their monopoly give them, to put a stop to the debate and thus censure the truth. This is not an expression of glasnost as a voice of truth.

Let us all cooperate in learning the truth and to respect the difficult work of searching for the truth. Let us not forget that we have different obligations in connection with this work. Let everyone honestly and competently fulfill his obligations and let him neither interfere, nor try to replace or supplant anyone else. This would result in disorder, which cannot be covered up by opportunistic phrases about glasnost and self-management. We are in favor of self-management and legality. Was this not the basic subject of our interview....

Human Rights Committee Holds First Meeting

AU1707190288 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—The newly established Human Rights Committee held its first meeting at which it discussed and adopted its statute. According to it the committee is an independent, public, nongovernmental organization. Every Bulgarian citizen can be elected as its member.

The committee will work in close cooperation with other public organizations from this country and abroad in order to consolidate further the spirit of respect of human rights and dignity, to cooperate for their guaranteeing and realization.

Private Transport Services Instructions Amended

AU1807192588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] In implementing Decree No 35 issued by the Council of Ministers in 1987 in connection with collective and individual labor activities of private citizens providing additional goods and services, the Minister of Transportation, in coordination with the Ministry of Finance, the Committee on Labor and Social Affairs, the Committee For Prices, and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, confirmed Instruction No 6 issued on 7 August 1987 pertaining to private transportation services carried out by citizens.

This instruction establishes in detail the conditions and order of transporting passengers and freight in private motor vehicles which are the property of individual citizens, a practice which has been successfully applied for over a year.

Over 5,000 citizens, who are owners of private motor vehicles are working under these conditions. As a result of this, the services to the population in the sector of transportation by taxis has considerably improved, particularly in large cities, such as Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Ruse, and others.

The Minister of Transportation confirmed Instruction No 2 of 20 May 1987 concerning transportation documents for taxi services with private motor vehicles, according to which the hitherto existing instruction is basically amended.

The method of accounting for the incomes and the calculation of taxes over the overall incomes, the application of numerous requirements pertaining to the issue and filling out of forms for transport work tickets, and others are unnecessarily complicating the taxi services with private motor vehicles of citizens.

For this reason the Council of Ministers rescinded Instruction No 2 issued by the Ministry of Transportation on 20 May 1987.

Smuggling Ring Discovered, Arrests Made
AU1807171388 Sofia BTA in English
1452 GMT 18 Jul 88

["Smuggling Ring Detected"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 18 (BTA)—The Central Investigation Department and its branches are carrying out an investigation into an illegal network and channels set up and used by a group of individuals, including foreign nationals, for smuggling, black-marketeering and currency offences, misappropriation and theft of noble metals from industrial enterprise and other criminal activities, corroborated by ample and irrefutable evidence and other facts currently in possession of the Ministry of Internal Affairs operatives and investigators.

So far it has been established that the wrongful acts involve property worth over six million leva. In the matter of these cases, criminal proceedings have been instituted against and arrests made of individuals charged with the commission of crimes. Large quantities of illegally appropriated noble metals, coins, ornaments and foreign currency have been found on them.

In the course of the investigation, it has been established that due to negligence and misguided conduct, a number of citizens have got involved in the above-mentioned activity. It has likewise been established that most of the objects sold to them as made of noble metals had been counterfeited, says an announcement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The investigation continues.

Rohlicek Interviewed on CEMA Reform
LD1807220988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 16 Jul 88

[From the "Saturday Interview" program; Rudolf Rohlicek, first deputy prime minister and CSSR permanent representative to CEMA, interviewed by editor Antonin Falta; date and place not given; Rohlicek speaks in Slovak—recorded]

[Text] [Falta] Good morning. The 44th CEMA session ended in Prague recently. How far has work progressed on the restructuring of the mechanism of the socialist economic integration? Will further ways be found to carry out CEMA reform despite different attitudes of the member states?

[Rohlicek] When we realize that there are 10 CEMA member states, each of which possesses differing economic potential, management methods, conditions, and degrees of the development of production forces, we shall realize that restructuring the CEMA mechanism is a process which cannot be properly accomplished in a short period of time. The pace of the implementation of this process is also influenced by social and economic changes which are being currently carried out in the individual member states. At the same time some member states give priority to tackling their specific, short-term economic problems instead of seeking long-range conceptual solutions within the integration framework. It would be illusory to think that it is possible to rebuild an international management system without corresponding fundamental changes in the national mechanisms. These processes are so integrated that they influence each other. At the same time, it is necessary to say that we all agree on what integration should bring to the community as a whole as well as to individual states. We also came to the conclusion that any international mechanism should be uniform at all levels and forms of cooperation of no lesser importance, it must make possible a total rationalization [ekonomizacia] of cooperation. This factor should motivate and stimulate both the states and their economic organizations to promote the growth of technological and economic standard of productions and products and to promote mutually advantageous direct ties. In the long term it should lead to establishing a common market. The principal elements of the mechanism of mutual cooperation in the field of the coordination of plans, monetary, financial, and credit relations, the formation of prices in mutual trade and the normative and legal foundations of cooperation must correspond to these requirements.

However, it has also been confirmed that it is not possible to adopt precipitate measures that would eschew inevitable stages and that do not take into account realistic conditions existing in our states and the valid laws governing the planned management of the socialist economy. On the other hand, however, in tackling these complicated issues it is not possible to continue to apply administrative approaches and to maintain the existing inertia and old stereotypes.

To your rather pessimistic question whether we will succeed in finding further ways to reform CEMA, I will reply as a realist. The essense of the socialist system is its ability to carry out creative change while attaining the common goal. The fact that there exist certain differences on how to proceed in restructuring the integration mechanism does not, in my opinion, change anything about the strength of our community. On the contrary, it shows that we are seeking an optimal variant, and in this respect, in my view, the 44th CEMA session took a big step forward. [Falta] Comrade Deputy Premier, the session spent a great deal of time discussing the concept of the international socialist division of labor for the upcoming period. Is the concept binding for the member states? Will it enable us to carry out structural changes in our engineering industry? In implementing it are we not going to be faced with problems like those we encountered in the past, such as fulfilling obligations to partners or the quality of goods, keeping of dates, and the like?

[Rohlicek] The broad debate which took place at the meeting on this document is significant. At issue is an important, long-range program to develop mutual cooperation for a long-term period reaching the beginning of the third millenium. Formulated in the concept are strategic aims of cooperation in priority areas of the national economy. At the same time this especially concerns the area of manufacturing. The machine-building sector, the electrical engineering and electronic industries in particular should develop speedily during the current 5-year plan as a basis for the substantial technological restructuring of industry in all our member states. This approach creates prerequisites for the optimalization of the structure of our engineering sector and a better utilization of the potential of skilled labor force. Apart from the area of manufacturing, the concept also includes tackling public issues, for instance supplies to the market place, and improving the education sector, the health service, and the like. Connected with this, among other things, is also mutual cooperation in agriculture and the food industry, which will be oriented toward the use of new progressive technologies in crop and livestock production and the modernization of the food industry's material and technological base. Increased cooperation in environmental protection is also envisaged. An important fact is that the concept is not understood as a dogma but as a document to be updated and made more specific as time goes on.

As far as the degree of the obligation of the concept is concerned, by adopting it, all CEMA member states have pledged to implement it. I believe that the content of the document adopted by all constitutes the first step toward overcoming existing tendencies which have marked our community. The condition necessary for a real move

forward is to begin to implement this document without delay. Further all-round community growth depends on the quality of its implementation.

[Falta] Connected with the previous questions is this one on the implementation of the comprehensive program for the scientific and technological progress of the CEMA member states up to the year 2000. Debate on this issue was very critical at the CEMA session. What is your view on this problem?

[Rohlicek] The program's implementation is encountering a number of obstacles, many of which are administrative. Therefore, the program is not having a desirable influence on the realization of the fundamental intention: to advance to a front-ranking position in scientific and technological progress and to ensure that scientific and technological results and products of the CEMA member states are comparable with the leading world standard and that they are put speedily into production. The fact that questions of finances, prices, and other categories of value have not yet been fully clarified is an obstacle to such intentions. In the systems field, the existing experiences from the management of the comprehensive program have shown that to master top technological programs by employing old methods will be very complicated if possible at all. This is because new technologies, such as for instance, superconductors, biotechnologies, and others are so revolutionary that the existing management structures have great difficulties coping with them. The solution in this systems field thus needs to be sought simultaneously in the economic, organizational, administrative, and institutional spheres. At the same time it cannot take place without changes in national management mechanisms or without the overall improvement of the mechanism of the socialist economic integration.

MSZMP 'Risks' Socialism To Save Economy

AU1907160188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jul 88 p 5

[Gejza Vilcek Budapest dispatch: "A Turnaround, But a Rapid One; Viewing the Recent MSZMP Central Committee Session"]

[Text] The Hungarian economy is under merciless pressure to achieve a truly rapid turnaround. The demand for it, that is, the demand for an intensification of the economy, for structural changes, for economic balance, is not new. The call for speedy changes resounded last summer at the MSZMP Central Committee session which had developed a program for solving the economic difficulties. The government's stabilization program should be instrumental in this; this demand was also underscored at the recent national party conference. However, it is very difficult to change old habits.

This habit, or rather this stereotypical way of thinking, is nothing but a deep-rooted conviction that development under socialism is always gradual, without shocks or serious conflicts, and that all problems will sooner or later "become resolved." Such thoughts and practices have landed Hungary at the barrier erected by the frequent postponement or half-hearted solution of problems, a barrier making it difficult to see the future. To break through this barrier, to achieve a true and rapid turnaround is no longer a prospect—it is the demand of the day. And the MSZMP Central Committee session of 13 and 14 July made it clear how serious a demand this is.

The session unambiguously showed that Central Committee members (expressing the views of the public, of the working people) prefer a radical, even if more painful turnaround to a more moderate course. Any postponement of the "surgery" harbors an immense political danger; and the communists not only feel this, they know this. For the sake of a radical turnaround they are willing to cope with serious conflicts and undergo a harsh political struggle, and even take risks.

In characterizing the methods which Hungary is forced to choose today, it can be said that they will "slam" the harsh conditions of a market mechanism on the country's economy and provide this mechanism with the scope it needs to force the economy to accomplish a speedy turnaround. It was not easy to come to this decision. During the discussion a certain Central Committee member voiced her concern that the release of market mechanisms could lead us out of the "tunnel" in which we have found ourselves, but that it is not at all certain that upon exiting the "tunnel" we would find ourselves in socialism. In reality the solution adopted by the Central Committee is meant to strengthen socialism in Hungary, not weaken it; however, today it is difficult to anticipate and reliably predict the forms, specific features, and operation of the market mechanism. Today Hungary's most topical need is to extricate itself from the pressures of its disrupted equilibrium—precisely for the sake of socialism.

It is not surprising that the session showed greater support for the so-called "A" variant, although it involves a tremendous burden: namely, a 15-25-percent inflation rate; a 20-30-percent devaluation of the forint; 80,000-100,000 unemployed annually; and a simultaneous drop in the national income and various economic risks—and all this during the next 2 years. But even if the "B" variant makes only a moderate impact, it involves the danger that, in a way, the moods will calm down, since it is not sufficiently forceful to make people develop that social and working activity which is so essential today. And this would threaten the accomplishment of this year's tasks. But the failure to fulfill the 1988 plan would end any and all changes, emergency measures would have to be put into force, and this would mean the end of all hopes invested in restructuring.

The harsh "A" variant contains a more detailed elaboration of the so-called social umbrella system; and by October one could even incorporate in it certain elements of the "B" variant. The rate of further progress

will be finally determined (on the MSZMP Central Committee's recommendation) by the Parliament at the time when it will be approving the next year's plan.

In a sense, the situation and the methods of solving the problems of the Hungarian economy also concern our own country. The Hungarian economy urgently needs 10-12 billion forints for balancing the deficit in its state budget; and one hears people say that the needed resources could be obtained by halting the largest investment project—the hydroelectric scheme in Nagymaros. Miklos Nemeth, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, unambiguously replied to these views by saying: It would cost more to halt the investment project than to speedily complete it, including the construction of facilities for environmental protection.

Austrian Media, Clergy Provoke Church Opposition
AU2007101988 Prague TRIBUNA No 26 in Czech 29 Jun 88 p 9

[Richard Najman answering a query by Vaclav Kratochvil from Prague in the "Our Reply" column: "What Can Be Said About the Role of the Austrian Catholic Hierarchy in Fomenting Clericalism in the CSSR?"]

[Excerpts] First of all, it must be said that the Austrian clergy is not of one mind in this respect, even if certain local hierarchs have recently stepped up their involvement—I am thinking of their most vigorous share in the political preparation of the provocative Bratislava demonstration toward the end of March 1988, which was organized by illegal church structures with the generous assistance of Western communications media. Prior to the demonstration, certain Austrian church figures (who have been organizing these illegal structures and protecting the antisocialist emigres in Austria for quite some time) did not hesitate to "appeal to all CSSR people with political and social responsibility to grant the church full freedom." But the fact is, that in our country the churches (and not only the Catholic Church) lead a full religious life, which is why the Slovak ordinaries rightly refused to support the provocation mentioned above. Despite this, people like Austrian Bishop Weber and others strove to dramatize the situation, under the pretext of concern for the "fate of the church in Czechoslovakia." [passage omitted] For the sake of truth it must be said that, in the end, the expected "mass demonstration" dwindled into a gathering of a small group of shipwrecked emigres, brought to our borders in busloads.

Efforts to stir up confrontations between the Catholic Church (which is still searching for its place in socialist society) and the state are also manifested in other ways. The KATHPRESS editorial office in Vienna (managed by the Austrian hierarchy) frequently releases misinformation that comes from among the ranks of illegal church structures in the CSSR; these attacks are then taken up by numerous Austrian and other bourgeois communications media. Such campaigns are meant to lead the Catholic Church to the opposition platform, in line with the endeavors and unrealistic notions of "dissidents" and other people who stir up conflicts between the state and the church. [passage omitted]

A part of the Austrian hierarchy also revealed certain ambitions in preparing the Pope's recent visit to Austria. Thus, Cardinal Koenig, former Vienna archbishop, stated: "The pope's visit is a strong signal toward the Eastern bloc." Nor did other church figures keep it secret that the "pope has to make the utmost use of the opportunity to reach beyond the East European border, in order to speak to those who cannot personally come to meet him." This cannot be wondered at, since the cost of the visit (100 million Austrian schillings) also had to have an ideological effect. [passage omitted]

Some people proceed from the assumption that Austria in particular should serve Czechoslovakia as a model of state-church coexistence. For instance, some time ago the Austrian federal press service stated that "the pope (when receiving in Rome a delegation of Christian trade union members from Austria—Najman note) expressed his appreciation of the fact that, in Austria, conflicts are settled by businesslike solutions, and people who think and live differently are constantly guided to live in systematic and harmonious coexistence with the state." This reportedly provides "the neighbors in the heart of Europe with an example that is well worth following." In that case, why do some members of the hierarchy and of "dissident" circles in our country not guide people (for instance believers) "toward harmonious coexistence with the state"? Simply because this would not correspond to their concept of exacerbating conflicts from which they could profit. [passage omitted]

However, many figures (and not only among the clergy) revert to the idea of Austria as a model for the CSSR, an idea linked with the belief that this could enhance Western influence on the "liberalization" of socialist countries; in fact, this is neither more nor less than an instruction to break down these states from within. [passage omitted] However, it is a fact that the real political and ideological differences between the states and systems will remain. This does not prevent their mutual, advantageous cooperation in every respect—even if the clerical forces are not so much concerned with cooperation as with pushing through their own political goals.

Strougal Receives Egyptian Cooperation Minister
LD1307215288 Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today visiting Egyptian Minister of State for International Cooperation Maurice

Makramallah, who leads an Egyptian delegation to a session here of the Czechoslovak-Egyptian Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

The two officials stated that their governments were determined to continue bilateral cooperation in all spheres, and agreed that the present session of the inter-governmental committee should focus on modern forms of cooperation.

The Czechoslovak premier voiced Czechoslovakia's wish to be able to participate in Egypt's industrialization program and in this context promised Czechoslovakia would increase its exports, particularly of consumer goods, to Egypt. The Egyptian minister suggested further forms of cooperation, mainly joint ventures.

Chnoupek Meets Minister

LD1307221288 Prague CTK in English 1610 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received here Wednesday visiting Egyptian Minister of State for International Cooperation Maurice Makramallah, head of the Egyptian delegation to a session of the Czechoslovak-Egyptian Committee for Economic and Scientific Technological Cooperation.

The two ministers appreciated the development of bilateral relations since Bohuslav Chnoupek's visit to Egypt in April 1988. They also exchanged views on the international situation, especially in Europe and the Middle East.

Fojtik Receives XINHUA Director General

LD3006213288 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and secretary Jan Fojtik today received Mu Qing, director general of the NEW CHINA (XINHUA) NEWS AGENCY.

In a friendly debate they spoke about the further extension of the exchange of information on the life and work of the people of both countries and on the application of new forms of cooperation between the CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY and the XINHUA news agency in information politics.

Present during the reception were Otto Cmolik, head of a Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee department, Otakar Svercina, director general of the CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY, and Chinese Ambassador Wang Xingda.

XINHUA Director General Mu Qing was also received today by Czechoslovak First Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes.

Husak Decorated by MPR on Birthday

OW0707150088 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Mongolian Prime Minister Sodnom, who was on a working visit to Czechoslovakia called on Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak on 5 July. Sodnom handed him the Order of Sukhe Bator, awarded by the Mongolian Government on his 75th birthday.

Receiving the Order, Gustav Husak said that he regarded it as a symbol of the indivisible friendship between the Czechoslovakian and Mongolian parties and peoples.

July 8 CPCZ CC Presidium Session Evaluated

AU1407151488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jul 88 p 1

[Unattributed release: "Report on CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session; Evaluation of Czechoslovakia's Participation in Implementing the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress"]

[Text] Prague—At its Friday [8 July] session, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium expressed high appreciation for the course and results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and for its significant contribution to solving problems at the present stage of building socialism.

The conclusions of the 19th All-Union Conference are a rich source of inspiration for the CPCZ, which, in line with the conclusions adopted by the 17th party congress on the acceleration of economic and social advancement, is striving to attain similar goals; like the CPSU, it is the initiator and guarantor of the implementation of the restructuring process.

In this connection, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium decided to assess at its next session the utilization of suggestions and conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference under the working conditions of our party.

The Presidium discussed the report on the results of the 44th CEMA session, held on 5-7 July 1988 in Prague, and approved the course pursued by the CSSR delegation there. Together with the CSSR Government, it adopted a standpoint, which is being published separately. The Presidium also approved the course pursued by the CSSR's permanent CEMA representative at the 128th session of the CEMA Executive Committee.

The Presidium dealt with the evaluation of Czechoslovakia's participation in implementing the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000. It expressed dissatisfaction with the course adopted to accomplish these tasks.

It found that it is necessary to intensify the use of new forms of scientific-technical cooperation, so as to improve Czechoslovakia's participation in implementing the Comprehensive Program; this primarily applies to direct relations and to the establishment of joint working places with the scientific-research organizations of other member states. A uniform, socialist common market must be developed on the basis of the results achieved in scientific-technical advancement. Increased attention must also be devoted to these issues when coordinating the national economy plans for the next 5-year period and elaborating the collective concept of international socialist division of labor for the years 1991-2005 in the sense of the conclusions adopted at the 44th CEMA session.

The Presidium then discussed the draft amendments to the CPCZ Central Committee's rules of procedure, which will be submitted to the next CPCZ Central Committee session. The amendments establish prerequisites for further developing the Central Committee's activities and enhancing the businesslike nature of its deliberations; they also make it possible to expand and deepen the involvement of CPCZ Central Committee members and candidate members in solving the issues under discussion and in adopting appropriate decisions.

The Presidium also dealt with the timetable for the main tasks awaiting the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat in the second half-year, and with the schedule of tasks following from the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the conclusions of the party's ninth Central Committee session for the activities of CPCZ Central Committee departments.

The Presidium acquainted itself with the interim data and progress of work on the reform of our economic mechanism and the restructuring of central state administration agencies.

It also acquainted itself with the information on the preparations for harvesting work and grain procurement. It found that the extreme droughts throughout April and May have negatively affected the grain crops, above all in the Czech SR. Although the rain at the beginning of June has had a positive effect on the development of vegetation, estimates of the yields to be expected show that the planned cereal production will not be attained. It will be all the more important for agricultural workers to prepare themselves thoroughly for the best possible harvesting work.

The Presidium also discussed the final data on annual members' meetings in primary organizations, all-plenary meetings, and party conferences in 1988.

It took note of information on the working visit paid by Janos Lukacs, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, from 4-6 July; on the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, held in Berlin from 20-22 June; on the course and results of the visit paid by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat from 27-29 June; on the course and results of the official friendly visit paid by Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria; and on the course and results of the friendly working visit paid by Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Presidium also discussed certain other internal party matters.

Government Presidium, TU Secretariat Confer

AU1507200088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Presidium and Central Trade Union Council Secretariat Deliberate on Results of the Public Discussion of Labor Code Amendments; 124,000 Proposals and Comments Received by the Central Trade Union Council"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Government Presidium and the Central Trade Union Council (URO) Secretariat met in Prague on Tuesday [12 July] for a joint session to assess the results of the public discussion of draft principles of amending the labor code; the discussion, carried out in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH), has brought URO 124,000 proposals and comments.

The CSSR Government Presidium noted with appreciation that in the discussion the trade union members supported both the draft measures to provide for restructuring the economic mechanism of our labor laws, particularly as regards the desired mobility of manpower throughout society, and the measures for more consistently implementing the socialist principles of remuneration, consolidating discipline and order in work, reinforcing the things that are secured under the labor code, and intensifying socialist democracy in our national economy.

The joint session assessed URO's stand on the results of the public discussion of the draft principles of amending the labor code, and the URO Presidium's recommendations for changing these principles. The Federal Government Presidium instructed the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs to incorporate the results of the joint deliberations into the draft of the labor code amendments.

The CSSR Government Presidium took note that, prior to being comprehensively discussed by the government and prior to being submitted to the CSSR Federal Assembly as a government proposal, the draft of the labor code amendments will be assessed by the national all-trade union conference, which is to be held on 24-25 September 1988.

The Federal Government Presidium also took note of the URO Presidium's resolution on a semi-annual public check on the fulfillment of the plan and of socialist commitments and collective contracts. It expressed full support for the demand that the economic executive staff address members meetings and conferences, so as to acquaint them with the specific programs of measures to ensure the fulfillment and (desirable) overfulfillment of the 1988 plan, and also to work out and adopt a demanding plan for 1989.

After assessing information on the conclusions of the fourth URO plenary session (which had dealt with ROH's contribution to the training of apprentices), the CSSR Government Presidium stated that the government would be discussing a comprehensive analysis of the Czechoslovak system of education and upbringing in the second half of this year, within the framework of the plan of its main tasks. This material will also take into account the suggestions and ideas from the fourth URO plenary session.

During the joint deliberations, it was stated that the problem of working people's transportation to and from their workplaces (a problem which the URO Presidium had asked the CSSR premier to resolve) is currently being discussed on the level of national governments. The CSSR Government will be dealing with these issues comprehensively, in connection with the report on providing spare parts for selected engineering products.

Central Economic Commission Meets in Prague
LD1607032488 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee Economic Commission met today in Prague under Chairman Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee secretary. It discussed an analysis of the results of economic and social development following the 17th party congress, the draft state executive plan for 1989, and a control report on the fulfillment of measures to implement the conclusions of the fifth session of the Party Central Committee on the development of science and technology in the activity of central bodies. The commission called for personal responsibility to be increased and for a more active approach by ministries and economic organizations in carrying out these tasks.

Delay in Trade Licensing Stymies Computerization
AU1907105588 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 15 Jul 88 p 2

[Jaroslav Winter article in the "Commentary" column: "Association at the Crossroads"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Imported technological equipment has been lying idle in the new lightweight-construction halls in the Agrokombinat united agricultural cooperative in Slusovice for a few months now. The Slusovice team is only waiting for a chance to import the rest of the equipment and purchase the necessary components for the assembly of computers. The team has products ready to sell in order to have resources for the purchase, but despite its great effort it still has not succeeded in obtaining permission to conduct foreign trade activity. The application lodged with the aim of acquiring foreign currency in that way bears last year's date—and the months are passing by and passing by, and the plans of the Mikroelektronika association are beginning to be seriously imperiled.

No matter what the reasons are that the application has not been dealt with, this does not change a thing about the fact that considerable and irretrievable losses are mounting by the day. These losses do not affect the Slusovice team alone—it is, after all, capable of flexibly adapting its plans—but the delay has a much broader impact. After all, various branches of the national economy are waiting for the computers promised by the Slusovice team, which would contribute to markedly increased productivity and also yield other effects. [passage omitted]

New Trnava Bishop Pledges Loyalty to State
AU3006191888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jun 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Bishop Jan Sokol's Pledge"]

[Text] Bratislava—Jan Sokol, the newly appointed bishop and apostolic administrator of the Trnava diocese, pledged loyalty to the CSSR to Slovak Premier Peter Colotka in Bratislava on Monday [27 June].

The solemn ceremony was attended by Slovak Minister of Culture Miroslav Valek. Also present were Doctor of Theology Jozef Feranec, chairman of the Corps of Slovak Ordinaries and bishop of Banska Bystrica; and Dean Jan Zabak, chairman of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergymen in the Slovak SR.

On that occasion, Bishop Jan Sokol gave an assurance that he would lead clergymen and believers in fully supporting the CSSR peace policy and in participating in the National Front's program of construction.

Slovak Premier Peter Colotka expressed appreciation for the deepening trust and mutual respect between the Czechoslovak state and the Roman-Catholic Church, and underscored their bilateral effort and goodwill to resolve topical issues connected with satisfying the real needs of fellow citizens who are believers.

Charter 77 Calls For Monument for Stalin Victims
AU1907125888 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpt] Prague/Vienna—Spokesmen of the CSSR Charter 77 civil rights movement have called on the state authorities to erect a monument for the victims of the

Stalinist oppression. In a letter to the "National Front" they state that 179 CSSR citizens were executed during the Stalin era and some 80,000 Czechs and Slovaks were imprisoned between 1948 and 1954.

At the same time, the Charter activists appealed to the country's writers, historians, journalists, and teachers to report the truth about the human rights' violations during the Stalin era. History as it is taught in CSSR schools and described in books contains many "blank spots" as well as entire chapters, which are characterized by "lies and the suppression of facts," they said. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances 27 Jun-6 Jul

AU1007151588 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 28 June to 7 July report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, swore in Jan Sokol, as the new bishop of Trnava in Bratislava on 27 June. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Jun 88 p 1; filed as AU3006191888)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, received a delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party in Prague on 27 June. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Jun 88 p 1; filed as AU0107103688)

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a session of the North Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee in Ostrava on 27 June. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Jun 88 p 2)

Josef Kempny and Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members, presented Karel Kejzlar the Order of Victorious February, bestowed on him by CSSR President Gustav Husak "for his long and selfless work for socialist justice" in Prague on 27 June. Josef Kempny and Ladislav Adamec attended the opening day of the 11th meeting of the Czech National Council the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Jun 88 p 2)

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received 'Umar Gad, the outgoing Egyptian ambassador, in Prague on 28 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 1)

Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, met with visiting Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky prior to the latter's departure for Bratislava in Prague on 28 June and then saw him off at Ruzyne Airport. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, accompanied Franz Vranitzky on his flight from Prague to Bratislava on 28 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Peter Colotka welcomed Franz Vranitzky at Bratislava airport on 28 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Peter Colotka and Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, were among those who met with Franz Vranitzky at Bratislava Castle on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Josef Kempny and Ladislav Adamec attended the concluding day of the 11th meeting of the Czech National Council in Prague on 28 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 1; filed as AU0207174488)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, paid a visit to the South Moravian region on 28 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann met with ranking functionaries of regional and district committees of the National Front in Ostrava on 28 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCS Central Committee Presidium, attended a session of the CPSL Central Committee's Economic Commission in Bratislava on 28 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a visit to the Milex enterprise in Bratislava on 28 June. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received Austrian consul Walter Swatosch in Bratislava, on the latter's request in Bratislava on 28 June. (PRAVDA 29 Jun 88 p 1)

Peter Colotka visited an exhibition of plastics in Bratislava on 28 June. (PRAVDA 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil attended a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Food Industry Employees in Brno on 28 June. (PRAVDA 29 Jun 88 p 2)

Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president, Vasil Bilak, and Bohuslav Chnoupek met with PLO chairman Yasir 'Arafat in Prague on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 88 pp 1,2)

Ignac Janak paid a visit to the agricultural research center in Solary in the Dunajska Streda district on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 88 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus paid a visit to the Incheba-88 fair in Bratislava on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 88 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, paid a visit to the North Bohemian Paper Works in Steti on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 88 p 2)

Peter Colotka received participants in a session of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Trade and Industry in Bratislava on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 88 p 2)

Ladislav Adamec attended a meeting of chairmen of regional national committees with Prague deputy mayor, in Prague on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 88 p 2)

Miloslav Hruskovic attended and addressed a session of the CPSZ Bratislava City Committee on 30 June. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Jul 88 p 2)

Ignac Janak presided over a session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front in Bratislava on 30 June. (PRAVDA 1 Jul 88 p1)

Frantisek Hanus attended statewide gathering of young pioneers in Hradec nad Moravici near Opava on 1 July. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Jul 88 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec attended and addressed a session of the Government of the Czech SR in Prague on 1 July. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Jul 88 p 2)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the North Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee, and Frantisek Pitra paid a visit to the 11th regional parade of scientific-technical development of the agriculture and food complex of the Central Bohemian region in Cerny Les near Benesov on 1 July. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Jul 88 p 2)

Bohuslav Chnoupek received the Hungarian and Danish ambassadors in Prague on 1 July. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Jul 88 p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a meeting of heads of the trade departments of Czechoslovak representations abroad, in Prague on 1 July. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Jul 88 p 2)

Lubomir Strougal and Ladislav Adamec were among those who attended a gala dinner for visiting Mongolian Premier Dumaagiyn Sodnom in Prague on 2 July. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Jul 88 p 1; filed as AU0807103788 and adds) Ignac Janak attended and addressed the "Vychodna 88" folklore festival in Vychodna in the Liptovsky Mikulas district on 2 July. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Jul 88 p 2)

Peter Colotka received Jan Stejskal, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, in Bratislava on 4 July. (PRAVDA 5 Jul 88 p 1)

Alois Indra received Afghan Ambassador 'Abdul Bagi Samandari in Prague on 4 July. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul 88 p 1)

Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received a visiting group of Ukrainian journalists in Prague on 4 July. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul 88 p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, presented Frantisek Chabicovsky, chairman of the South Moravian Regional National Committee, the Order of Victorious February in Brno on 4 July. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul 88 p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, was among those who took part in a session of the Committee of the Warsaw Pact Ministers of National Defense in Moscow on 5 July. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jul 88 p 1)

Karel Hoffmann held talks with his MSZMP counterpart Janos Lukacs in Prague on 5 July. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jul 88 p 5)

Ignac Janak received a delegation of the SED Central Control Commission headed by Erich Mueckenberger in Bratislava on 5 July. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jul 88 p 5)

Lubomir Strougal met with his Romanian counterpart Constantin Dascalescu in Prague on 6 July. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Jul 88 p 1)

Mikulas Beno bade farewell to Dusan Ckrebic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, at Prague Ruzyne Airport on 6 July. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Jul 88 p 1)

Ignac Janak received Janos Lukacs, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, in Bratislava on 6 July. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Jul 88 p 2)

Iran's Acceptance of UN Resolution 598 Welcomed
LD1907143988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1348 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 19 Jul (ADN)—GDR Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer made the following statement to ADN concerning the latest developments in the Gulf region: The GDR welcomes the readiness announced by the Islamic Republic of Iran to accept UN Security Council Resolution 598 of 20 July 1987 on the conflict between Iraq and Iran. This resolution has always been supported by the GDR. It sees in it a real chance for a peaceful, definitive solution to the conflict. During the war, which has already lasted 8 years, cost many lives, and destroyed an immense amount of valuable material, the GDR, as is well known, has always taken the stand that only a political solution to the dispute would serve both sides. It is of inestimable importance for detente in the region.

Now that both parties to the conflict have stated their readiness to accept the conditions of Resolution 598, there is a good chance to initiate political steps for such a political settlement. This is in the interest of world peace.

The GDR pays tribute to the efforts of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to achieve acceptance of the resolution by both parties to the conflict. It hopes it will be successfully implemented and that there will be increased stability in international relations.

Syrian Army Group Visits, Discusses Cooperation
AU1907150488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jul 88 p 3

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the Syrian People's Army, headed by their chief, Minister Ibrahim al-'Ali, is staying in the GDR for a several-day exchange of experiences with the Society for Sports and Technology. The delegation is visiting training centers and the schools of the Society for Sports and Technology and acquainting itself with the society's activities in enterprises and universities.

During a friendly meeting, questions of further deepening the cooperation in patriotic and internationalist education, premilitary training, and military sports were discussed. Both sides reported on their efforts to strengthen and protect their states. In this context, Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch, chairman of the Society for Sports and Technology, stressed that the GDR's socialist defense organization has increased its efficiency after its eighth congress. For example, together with the FDJ and the reservists' collectives, more young working people have been enlisted for military sports.

Minister Ibrahim al-'Ali paid tribute to the close ties of many years between the Syrian People's Army and the Society for Sports and Technology. The delegation's visit will contribute to further deepening cooperation in accordance with the friendly relations between the two peoples and states.

Honecker Marks FSLN Victory, Peace Support
AU2007091888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jul 88 p 1

[ND report: "GDR Linked With Nicaragua's People in Firm Friendship; Erich Honecker Sends Message to Daniel Ortega on Ninth Anniversary of Victory"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Executive Committee of the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) and president of the Republic of Nicaragua:

Esteemed Comrade Daniel Ortega:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR, I convey to you, the FSLN National Directorate, and the people of Nicaragua fraternal greetings on the ninth anniversary of the victory of the Sandinist people's revolution.

Since the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship on 19 July 1979, the Nicaraguan people—by implementing their right to self-determination—are pursuing a determined and dedicated struggle for the development of their social and democratic achievements. The policy of the FSLN to fulfill the spirit and the letter of the Guatemala peace accord and the Sapoa agreement is highly appreciated.

We are sure that the Nicaraguan people, under the tested leadership of the FSLN, will repel all attacks on their sovereignty by the reaction and will make progress in consolidating their country. The GDR will continue to support all efforts for a stable and lasting peace in Central America and will be linked with Nicaragua in firm friendship and solidarity.

I wish you, esteemed Comrade Daniel Ortega, success in the struggle for the defense of the Sandinista people's revolution, for national reconciliation, and social progress as well as good health and creative energy.

Erich Honecker

general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Budget Report for 1987 Published

AU0607194588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jul 88 pp 3, 4

["Budget Report for the Year 1987: Implementation of Revenues and Expenditures of the State Budget"]

[Text]

	Millions of marks
Revenues of the state budget	260,448.9
Expenditures of the state budget	260,167.3
Surplus of revenues over expenditures in 1987	281.6

A. Implementation of Important Revenues and Expenditures of the State Budget According to Sectors [subhead]

	Actual Revenues 1987	Actual Expenditures 1987	Actual Subsidies (minus) 1987	Surplus (plus) 1987
		—In millions of marks—		
People's Chamber	—	12.0	-12.0	
State Council	—	18.3	-18.3	
Council of Ministers	38.8	145.8	-107.0	
Central and local state apparatus	356.8	4,405.8	-4,049.0	
Coal and energy	12,474.7	5,541.3		+6,933.4
Ore mining, metallurgy,and potassium	12,465.7	5,530.1		+6,935.6
Chemical industry	20,182.0	6,689.3		+13,492.7
Electrical engineering and electronics	13,267.4	3,292.8		+9,974.6
Heavy machinery and installation construction	7,950.9	239.1		+7,711.8
Machine tool and processing machinery construction	4,657.3	446.5		+4,210.8
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	7,975.3	1,703.3		+6,272.0
Light industry	8,689.2	1,599.2		+7,090.0
Glass and ceramics industry	3,483.2	292.7		+3,190.5
Geology	2,832.4	605.3		+2,227.1
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	21,334.3	1,756.2		+19,578.1
Construction sector	11,301.2	1,490.4		+9,810.8
Transportation sector	13,754.6	9,135.4		+4,619.2
Posts and telecommunications	937.5	82.3		+855.2
Water management	2,829.1	1,541.4		+1,287.7
Agriculture and foodstuffs including cooperatives	13,818.2	7,060.6		+6,757.6
Forestry	1,047.8	124.8		+923.0
Domestic consumer goods trade	4,965.9	561.8		+4,404.1
Academy of Sciences	833.6	1,191.4	-357.8	
Housing	—	15,252.3	-15,252.3	
Measures to safeguard stable prices for the population	—	49,336.0	-49,336.0	
Public education	395.9	9,270.3	-8,874.4	
University and technical school sector	264.6	2,910.2	-2,645.6	
Vocational training	9.8	1,104.5	-1,094.7	
Health and social sector	8,948.4	15,072.3	-6,123.9	
Social insurance	18,329.4	35,186.2	-16,856.8	
Culture	657.0	2,647.6	-1,990.6	
Sports	130.9	624.6	-493.7	
Recreation	117.2	555.6	-438.4	
Youth	346.7	639.0	-292.3	
Television	467.2	590.6	-123.4	
Radio	128.8	256.7	-127.9	
Local measures and services	133.4	1,020.1	-886.7	
Foreign policy tasks	—	214.1	-214.1	
National defense	—	15,140.9	-15,140.9	
Public security and safeguarding of the national border	—	5,756.5	-5,756.5	
Payments by banks	9,168.2	—		+9,168.2
Taxes and duties	20,067.8	—		+20,067.8

B. Implementation of the Main Positions of Revenues and Expenditures of the State Budget [subhead]

I. [Roman one] **State-owned economy and socialist agriculture**

1. State-owned combines and enterprises—On the basis of the further increase of the national economy's capacity and efficiency according to plan by means of comprehensive intensification, the state-owned combines and enterprises (without agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry) made payments to the state budget amounting to 188,257.7 million marks. These included:

	Millions of marks
Levies from production and trade funds	28,409.4
Net profits	39,190.7
Contributions to social funds	34,127.7
Product-specific levies	42,965.1

For the further development of the material-technical basis and for the promotion of intensification, the state-owned combines and enterprises (without agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry) claimed a total of 74,507.6 million marks from the state budget in addition to their own funds for the financing of scientific-technological tasks, for investment projects, product-specific price subsidies for producer goods, and for other production-promoting measures. For the maintenance and repair of communications, the state budget provided 5,706.9 million marks. These means were used in particular for:

	Millions of marks
Roads	2,954.6
Railroad tracks and facilities	2,420.5
Maritime and inland ports and waterways	232.4 2.

State-owned combines and enterprises and socialist cooperatives of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry—In line with the performance and efficiency targets that were reached, the state-owned enterprises of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry, and the socialist cooperatives of agriculture and their cooperative institutions, paid to the state budget a total of 14,866.0 million marks. This included:

	Millions of marks
Economic levy of cooperatives and enterprises of socialist agriculture	5,482.5
Revenues of state institutions in agriculture, particularly from services of the state: Veterinary service	977.1

In continuation of the tested alliance policy, the state-owned enterprises, the socialist cooperatives, and their cooperative institutions were provided with 7,185.4 million marks from the state budget for the promotion of production, including:

Scientific-technological measures	497.8
Investments	120.0
Subsidies to agriculture, in particular for amelioration and measures of scientific-technological progress	591.4
Location-related bonuses, compensation for loss of interest, and other production-promoting measures	1,518.6
Price subsidies for producer goods for agricultural enterprises	3,360.6
Expenditures for the veterinary system, plant protection, special schools, exhibitions, and other measures in agriculture and forestry	772.8

II. [Roman two] **Expenditures of the state budget for science and technology and for investments**

1. Science and technology—A total of 3,209.8 million marks from the state budget were used for science and technology and for research facilities. This included:

Science and technology in the state-owned combines and enterprises	2,146.7
Science and technology in agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry	309.3
Research and development of the Academy of Sciences	314.6
Research and development in universities, colleges, and technical schoolsTc306.3	
Research and development in research institutions of state organs	132.92.

2. Socioscientific research—For socioscientific research 220.1 million marks were provided from the state budget.

3. Investments—A total of 8,055.0 million marks from the state budget were spent for investments (without housing construction).

III. [Roman three] **Taxes and levies**

1. Craftsmen's production cooperatives and other socialist cooperatives as well as private craftsmen and tradesmen—On the basis of increasing performances, in particular in repairs and services for the population and the further raising of efficiency, taxes and duties amounting to a total of 8,893.9 were paid to the state budget. This included:

	Millions of marks
Craftsmen's production cooperatives	2,744.7
Consumer cooperatives	2,188.0
Private craftsmen and tradesmen	3,961.2

In order to promote the intensification of the performances of cooperative and private crafts and of private retail traders, restaurant keepers, and other tradesmen, M223.0 million from the state budget were used within the approved financial compensations to improve repairs, services, and supplies to the population.

2. Taxes from the population—In line with the increasing income, the citizens contributed to financing the tasks of all of society with a total of M11,173.9 million. This included:

	Millions of marks
Payroll tax of workers and employees	9,574.8
Automobile license tax	526.1
Local taxes, particularly real property tax	398.7
Other taxes, particularly from free-lance work, inheritances, and acquisition of real property	674.3

IV. [Roman four] **Expenditures of the state budget to fulfill sociopolitical tasks**

In implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress on the consistent continuation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, the following financial means were used for the further implementation of the housing program and the cultural-social tasks in line with the performance and efficiency increase:

1. Housing construction and housing management For the further implementation according to plan of the approved housing construction program in its unity of new construction, reconstruction, modernization, and preservation, a total of M29,109.3 million were provided. These financial means were used for, among other things, comprehensive new housing construction, including the construction of new educational, catering, and care institutions at a cost of M9,208.6 million, including M3,605.6 million from the state budget. (Footnote one) (Another M1,404.5 million from the state budget were used for the construction of new educational, catering, and care institutions that were not built within comprehensive housing construction but on individual sites.) Other expenditures in this category included:

	Millions of marks
Construction of private homes	1,121.2
Modernization of apartments in order to raise living quality, including M530.0 million from the state budget	1,834.0
Building repairs of housing stock, including M3,308.7 million from the state budget	6,198.0
Expenditures on supplies of heat, warm water, and energy, garbage disposal, and planting of greenery, and other management expenditures, including M4,218.7 million from the state budget	7,158.2

	Millions of marks
Construction of private homes	1,121.2
Modernization of apartments in order to raise living quality, including M530.0 million from the state budget	1,834.0
Interests and repayment of investment loans for new housing construction	3,589.3

The financial means came from:

	Millions of marks
The state budget	15,252.3
Loans	7,314.0
Means of the combines and enterprises for the housing sector, particularly for enterprise-owned housing	604.0
The sector's own capital	5,939.0

This included:

Income from rents of the VEB's of the housing sector and the socialist housing construction cooperatives	2,559.5
Means of private house owners including income from rents	2,272.9
Means of the socialist housing construction cooperatives	856.4
Capital of those who build their own houses	250.2

2. Measures to ensure stable prices for the population—For price supports to ensure stable prices for basic consumer goods, dues, and services for the population, a total of M49,336.0 million were provided by the state budget. This included:

	Millions of marks
Foodstuffs	31,419.3
Industrial goods for the population	11,946.6
Fares for long distance and local passenger traffic	5,044.0
Drinking water and dues for waste water treatment	455.2
Repairs and services	470.9

3. Training and education—The following financial means were used for the training and education of young people and the further training of adults:

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Public education	395.9	9,270.3
Of this: 10-grade polytechnical secondary schools, extended secondary schools, and boarding schools of the secondary schools		4,825.7
Special schools, particularly for training in natural sciences, languages, sports, and the arts		108.2
Special schools for developing the personality of handicapped children and young people		393.8
Payment of proportionate boarding costs by the parents	108.9	
Revenues from services	18.5	
Teaching and study devices		154.2

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Toys and materials for use by children of preschool age and pupils in school hostels		59.3
Transportation of school children		140.9
Kindergartens and combined institutions		1,724.2
Meals for pupils in general educational schools and meals for children in preschool institutions		1,006.4
Payment of the parents' shares in meals for pupils and children	268.5	
Children's homes		245.6
Youth hostels		16.2
Special children's homes		50.4
Work and school sports communities for the promotion of pupils' special interests within the framework of extracurricular activities		53.1
Pioneer houses and stations		115.6
Local recreational activities for pupils during summer, winter, and short vacations		59.0
Institutions and measures for the care and education of children and young people who either have no parents or no ties with their families		82.9
Adult colleges		39.6
Institutions for the advanced training of public education teachers		108.9
Institutions directly attached to central state organs and for central measures, such as homes for children of citizens who work abroad, the pioneer palace, and central advanced training courses for pedagogues		37.1

Investments for the new construction and modernization of secondary schools, children's institutions, and other public education institutions amounting to M871.9 million were financed by the state budget. In addition to the expenditures from the state budget, M646.1 million were provided by the financial resources of the combines and enterprises for the care for children, particularly for kindergartens and children's vacation camps.

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
University and technical school sector	264.6	2,910.2
Of this: Universities and colleges		1,268.9
Engineering and technical colleges		444.2
Scholarships		668.8
Boarding schools		194.2
Catering for students in mess halls		142.4
Payment of proportionate costs for boarding schools and for meals by the students	148.8	
Other revenues in the university and technical school sector	115.8	

Scientific-technological tasks were financed with M306.3 million from the state budget and investments for new construction and modernization of facilities in the university and technical school sector received M337.5 million.

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Vocational training	9.8	1,104.5
Of this: Enterprise vocational schools and enterprise apprentice hostels		824.3
Communal vocational schools and apprentice hostels		210.5
Practical vocational training in agriculture		41.2
Vocational counseling centers		14.7
Institutions for the advanced training of vocational school teachers		6.7
Investments for modernizing and reconstructing vocational training facilities		11.8
Institutions for adult qualification	42.0	120.7

4. Medical and social care—For medical and social care for the citizens, the following financial means were provided:

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Health and social sector	18,948.4	15,072.3
Of this: Hospitals		4,255.3
Polyclinics, outpatient clinics, and doctor's offices		2,764.5
Medical sector in the university and technical school sector, such as the Charite Institute and the medical academies, and medical services of the clinics of the Academy of Sciences		1,092.2
Emergency medical aid and ambulance service		217.3
Nurseries and combined institutions for children		1,378.6
Payment of parents' fees for care for babies in nurseries and combined institutions	51.6	
State children's allowances and maternity allowances		2,649.4
Facilities and measures to ensure hygiene at work and in residential areas		165.0
Vaccinations, disinfection, and other preventive measures for health protection		79.1
Scientific facilities of the health sector, such as in the fields of occupational medicine, diabetes, pharmaceuticals, and vaccinations		102.0
Blood donation service		87.6
X-ray institutes and central laboratories		24.7
Pharmacies and orthopedic facilities	1,139.8	106.8
Laundries and other supply organizations of the health sector		149.8
Homes for the elderly and nursing homes		1,022.3

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Payments by the citizens for accomodation and meals in homes for the elderly and nursing homes	124.4	
Care for elderly citizens, household assistance, and provision of lunches		228.0
Institutions and support for the social security and care of disabled and severely disabled citizens		209.1
Payments to nonstate homes for the elderly and nursing homes as well as to other institutions for care and services for citizens in need of care		193.0
Additional allowances for families with three and more children		95.8
Subsidies for organizations, such as the German Red Cross of the GDR, People's Solidarity, the Association of the Blind and Weak-Sighted		65.5
Medical and health education for developing a healthy way of life among the citizens, such as, for example, the German Hygiene Museum of the GDR, and health education studios		39.6
Revenues from social insurance payments for services by the state health sector	7,192.0	

The state budget financed scientific-technological tasks with M74.9 million, and investments for the new construction and reconstruction of hospitals, outpatient clinics, and other facilities of the health and social sector with M1,113.7 million.

In addition to the expenditures from the state budget, M275.8 million were used from the resources of the combines and enterprises for health and social care for the working people.

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Social insurance	18,329.4	35,186.2

Thus subsidies from the state budget amounted to a total of M16,856.8 million, including:

	Millions of marks
Subsidies for social insurance of workers and employees and the members of socialist production cooperatives and other working strata	15,932.7
Subsidies for services of the old age pension scheme of the intelligentsia, honorary pensions, and pensions from voluntary pension insurance	924.1

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Important revenues and expenditures of social insurance: Revenues from: Shares of premiums of enterprises, state organs and institutions, and cooperatives	10,206.7	
Payment of premiums by the working people	8,122.7	
Expenditures for: Pensions		17,063.8
Free medical care for the citizens on the basis of a social insurance system		7,192.0
Sick pay		4,430.0
Pregnancy and maternity allowances		857.2
Subsidies to mothers for paid vacations when they use maternity leave		771.3
Subsidies to mothers for paid vacations for the care of sick children		483.8
Pharmaceuticals		3,034.5
Therapeutic aids and appliances		377.1
Subsidies to religious institutions for medical care		234.0
Reimbursement of expenditures, such as travel and accommodation expenses for medical treatment in clinics and other health service institutions that are not located at the patient's place of residence		29.1
Further expenditures for health and social care, such as payment of hospital services of the Academy of Sciences, funeral allowances, payment of travel expenses for patients on therapeutical cures		540.9
Administrative expenses of social insurance		127.3

5. Culture, sports, recreation, and youth—The following financial means were used to meet the people's intellectual-spiritual needs, for their recreation and sports activities:

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Culture	657.0	2,647.6
Of this: Theaters, open air stages, movie theaters, and orchestras	855.6	
Culture houses, clubs, and the promotion of lay art		570.9
Cultural-political work of the concert and guest performance directorates		202.8
Museums and visual arts institutions		313.2
State libraries		168.9
Musical schools		56.8
Care for and preservation of monuments		92.5
Zoological and botanical gardens as well as zoos for native animals		68.6
Cultural cooperation with foreign countries on the basis of agreements and accords such as, for instance, exchanges of artists and troupes		59.7
Subsidies for social organizations, such as the GDR Cultural League, URANIA, the GDR Writers Association, and the Graphic Artists Association		63.8
Entrance fees for visiting cultural events and revenues from the sale of printed and other products	657.0	

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Investments for the new construction and reconstruction of cultural facilities		196.1

In addition to the state budget expenditures, M583.0 million were provided from the resources of the combines and enterprises for cultural facilities, in particular for culture houses and clubs.

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Sports: Maintenance of sports facilities such as stadiums, sports grounds, and indoor swimming pools		624.6
Entrance fees and revenues from services	130.9	
Subsidies to the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation for children's, youth, and mass sports; to youth spartakiads, competitive sports, and sports activities of senior and disabled citizens		343.4
Investments for sports facilities		122.7

In addition to expenditures from the state budget, M124.7 million were used from the resources of combines and enterprises for sports activities of the working people.

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Recreation and Holiday Program	117.2	555.6
Of this: Subsidies to the FDGB holiday program		276.2
Local recreational facilities, such as camping and tent sites, and outdoor swimming pools		221.4
Cultural care for the working people in health resorts		18.8
Investments for modernizing and reconstructing local recreational facilities		29.6

In addition to expenditures from the state budget, M969.1 million for recreational facilities and the working people's holidays were provided from the resources of combines, enterprises, state organs, and institutions.

	Revenues	Expenditures
	In millions of marks	
Youth facilities, including youth tourism	346.7	639.0
Of this: Youth hostels, youth tourism hotels, youth recreation centers		136.1
Domestic and foreign youth tourism		363.1
Central pioneer camps		76.6
Investments for the new construction, modernization, and reconstruction of youth facilities		39.8

In addition to the expenditures from the state budget, M119.5 million from the resources of the combines and enterprises were provided for the young people's leisure time.

6. Promotion of young couples—For the promotion of young married couples the state budget provided M241.3 million for remitting loans taken out by young couples, including remittance of interest on loans.

Grosz on Disarmament, Troop Withdrawal, Minorities

AU1907115388 Rome ANSA in English 1047 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] (ANSA) Budapest, July 19—"There is a kernel of truth" in recent American reports of a possible withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, according to Hungarian Premier and Party Secretary, Karoly Grosz.

Meeting Italian Senate speaker Giovanni Spadolini, here Monday, he said Hungary plans to ask that the Soviet troops sent into the country in 1956 should be among the first to be withdrawn after an eventual conventional disarmament agreement between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Grosz also told Spadolini, a former Italian defence minister, that the Warsaw Pact nations have already offered full disclosure of their conventional forces by August 1 in order to speed up the exchange of information.

According to Spadolini, Grosz told him that the Hungarian Government attributes great importance to disarmament as a condition for the country's economic reform—hence the decision to freeze military expenditure in 1991-95 so as to promote civilian investments. Hungary currently spends 4.8 percent of its budget on defence.

Spadolini added that, when briefing him on his meeting with Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev after the pan-Soviet party conference in Moscow, Grosz told him Hungary is ready host a fifth Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

Today, Grosz starts a week-long visit to the United States, the first by a Hungarian prime minister since Ference Nagy in 1947. The visit is intended to signal Hungary's desire to highlight its own initiatives, in the disarmament field," Spadolini said.

In an interview with Italian television on this visit, which the Hungarian press is describing as "of historic significance," Grosz said that "it is not the world that must adapt itself to us, but we should adapt ourselves to the world."

Interviews after his meeting with Spadolini, he pointed out that Hungary accounts for 0,25 percent of the world's population, 0,5 percent of its production, and 1 percent of its exports.

But he said that, even if the two superpowers "influence the world's destiny, they do not determine it." According to Grosz, in the United States, he will be explaining "how we live, what our projects are, how to assess the changes under way in our country and the programme we have launched."

His talks with Spadolini also covered church-state relations and the situation of the Hungarian minority in the Romanian region of Transylvania.

He confirmed that the Hungarian parliament is about to launch new legislation for ethnic minorities with a bill which, according to Spadolini, looks on Italian legislation for the German-speaking minority in northeastern Italy as "an example of modernity and European thinking."

In other points, Grosz told Spadolini that he is expecting a visit from Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir in the next few weeks, but he warned that a resumption of diplomatic relations between Hungary and Israel would only be possible with the opening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East.

Export Goods Pile Up at Soviet Border

LD1807151688 Budapest MTI in English 1228 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 18, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A record quantity of over 5,000 railway-carriage-loads of Hungarian goods destined for the Soviet Union has piled up at the Zahony transloading station on the east Hungarian border because of the failure of the Soviet railways to receive and forward them.

Minister of transport Lajos Urban, who visited the station, said it was not exceptional for three to four thousand wagon-loads of goods to pile up at Zahony during autumn peaks, "but no such situation has yet emerged".[as received]

Solution to the problem should be sought with the involvement of senior Soviet railway officials, "otherwise trade restrictions will have to be introduced".

This would mean that many Hungarian export goods could not be delivered to the Soviet Union, or with big delays at best. Mr Lajos Urban termed the claim of Hungarian producers to receive immediate payment for export goods accepted for delivery by the railways as justified.

Premier Karoly Grosz Arrives in Chicago

LD1907223988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Karoly Grosz, party general secretary and premier, has arrived in Chicago on an official visit to the United States at the invitation of the U.S. government. At O'Hare Airport the distinguished guest was greeted by representatives of the State of Illinois and the city. Also there were Mark Palmer, U.S. ambassador to Budapest, and Vencel Hazi, our country's representative in Washington, who joined Karoly Grosz's entourage there.

In the premier's entourage are Ilona Tatai, member of the Politburo and managing director of the Taurus enterprise; Government Commissioner Laszlo Kapolyi; Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank; and deputy foreign Minister Lazslo Kovacs.

Karoly Grosz and his delegation are to make a 9-day tour of the United States. He will met with business representatives and will brief his hosts directly about the reform plans of the Hungarian Government. On 27 July, Karoly Grosz will hold talks with President Ronald Reagan.

Dissidents Go On Hunger Strike in Budapest

AU2007064588 Paris AFP in English 0616 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Text] Vienna, July 20 (AFP)—Several Hungarian intellectuals began a hunger strike in Budapest on Tuesday to protest at the authorities' refusal to issue them passports, dissident editor Ferenc Koeszeg said.

The strike has been timed to coincide with a 10-day visit to the United States by Hungary's new leader, Karoly Grosz, to "draw public attention to the fact that some Hungarians are still excluded from moves to ease restrictions on foreign travel" introduced at the start of the year, Mr Koeszeg said.

The intellectuals will not eat until the end of the visit, he added. The authorities had not said why they had refused the passports, he said, but had merely cited Article 12 of the Law on Passports, which denies them to "any person who has seriously harmed Hungarian legislation abroad."

Mr Koeszeg, who edits the review BESZELOS, wrote an article for THE WALL STREET JOURNAL on a visit to New York in 1986 criticising the Hungarian economy.

Another of the hunger strikers, lawyer Gyula Erbei, asked for political asylum two years ago on a visit to his family in Austria, but changed his mind. The authorities have refused to give him a passport since then.

Jeno Fonay, a member of former Hungarian leader Imre Nagy's government, is also among the hunger strikers. He was sentenced to death after the Soviet Union helped crush the Hungarian uprising and overthrow Mr Nagy's government in 1956.

Bank Official on Devaluation of Forint

LD1907124888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] It has become news today that the forint has been devalued against convertible currencies. Jozsef Orosz has interviewed Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank.

[Begin Recording] [Orosz] The forint was last devalued by 5 percent in November last year. Now, it is 6 percent. Why just now, at the height of the tourist season?

[Bartha] It is connected more with the goods traffic and the services traffic, and less with tourism, which derives from the foreign currency structure of the people's economy. The reason is that we would like to fundamentally maintain this more favorable high export dynamism. But we think that, also in the tourist season, it could have effects which the foreign tourists travelling here would receive rather favorably.

[Orosz] So, the export revenue of enterprises can increase, although the devaluation of the forint also means holding back imports, an import curb.

[Bartha] Economizing on imports is a fundaental question. We are not holding back imports; the direction in which we wish to proceed is precisely that we should not perhaps have to make use of administrative instruments. In the spring, we moderated import duties. So in actual fact, imports have become cheaper this year.

[Orosz] Can we reckon with a large-scale devaluation of the forint in September?

[Bartha] We will certainly not have a large-scale devaluation of the forint in September. If the process develops in such a way, then perhaps this must be done at the beginning of next year. However, this depends on what kind of economic policy we can turn to.

[Orosz] This option 'A', which the MSZMP Central Committee debated last week and which will probably be put before the National Assembly, does contain a large-scale devaluation of the forint. But how large is this?

[Bartha] In this option, a measure is formulated which means going over to another exchange rate of the forint to convertible currencies—not all at once, but over a longer period. This does not mean that we will devalue in one go by 20-25 percent. The economists estimate approximately today that the marginal effects of the forint exchange rate would require a change of roughly this nature. However, this supposes a gradual realization in the longer term, so that the real processes—the economy, the enterprises—would be able to react positively to this.

This is a little understood opinion. We definitely do not plan a devaluation of such great value in the near future.

[Orosz] Do you have any information whether the travel agencies will follow the devaluation of the forint in their prices? Will the prices of the advertised trips increase?

[Bartha] In my opinion an agency which conducts a good policy does not change its advertised prices in mid-season. But this will be balanced out at the agencies with the incoming, that is the active, foreign traffic. This is advantageous for the enterprises, and they can well cover the price levels of the trips they offer from this. [end recording]

Money Substitute Practice Meeting Opposition

LD1807175388 Budapest MTI in English 1119 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 18, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Apparently, the move to relieve the shortage of money produced by a restrictive economic policy through enhancing the role of money-substitutes, is encountering difficulties in Hungary.

Now with the grain harvest in full force, it is causing minor storms that wholesalers are offering bills of exchange in partial payment of sums due to producers.

In central Hungarian Bacs-Kiskun County, which has the largest grain fields in the country, agricultural cooperatives are finding themselves in the unlucky situation that both the machine trader company Agroker, and the petrol and oil supplier Afor are reluctant to accept bills of exchange as a means of payment, whereas, the wholesaler company paid 800 million forints (USD 16 million) in bills for its total purchases of agrarian products of between 1.2 and 1.4 billion forints (USD 24 and 28 million) in this county alone.

At a "crisis meeting" last weekend the cooperatives complained also that the county offices of the National Commercial and Credit Bank were ready to accept bills for discounting only in the event if the beneficiaries had outstanding credits at the bank. In this case—instead of cash payment—the bills were treated as repayment towards the loan, notwithstanding a later maturity.

Another solution that bills of exchange are being supplemented by direct barter between grain purchaser and producer, in a way that the producer gets, for example, fodder in exchange for his grain, indicates that the break-through in the use of money substitutes will have to wait awhile yet. Economists dismiss the solution as completely outdated.

Estimates put this year's grain harvest (maize not included) at 8.2 million tons, and wholesalers intend to pay for half that quantity with bills. The National Bank of Hungary announced last week that it would charge one per cent lower rediscount rate on bills that had been transferred previously twice or more times.

Private Exporters Can Buy Back Hard Currency

LD1907091788 Budapest MTI in English 0814 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 19, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Ministry of Finance has permitted private exporters to buy back up to 10 per cent of their gross hard currency earnings from the National Bank of Hungary, to cover their expenses.

So far private individuals have been entitled to a hard currency budget of 380 dollars (19,000 forints at current rates) every three years, from the central bank. With effect on January 1 this year private individuals were licensed to do export activities, but there was no provision of hard currency for them.

According to the new rule private exporters can cover their expenses for public relations, advertising, participation in fairs, exhibitions abroad and business travel in hard currency from their own hard currency earnings.

However, there is some red tape involved, first they have to exchange their entire export revenues into forints at the national banks, and buy back 10 per cent thereof at daily rates whenever the costs occur. An overdraft of that amount is subject to permission from the bank.

The new regulation opens the way for prospective private exporters to get a starting loan in hard currency from the bank.

The Ministry of Finance refrained from offering an explanation why exactly 10 per cent has been fixed as an average, the only comment offered was "those who export more, will do better."

Irrespective of the new move private exporters may draw money to cover their costs from their hard currency accounts.

Hard currency accounts can be held by Hungarian citizens with certified incomes from work abroad, copyright fees, royalties, etc.

MSZMP May Conference Protocol To Be Published

AU3006184988 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Jun 88 p 8

[Text] The protocol of the MSZMP National Conference held in May will be published by the Kossuth Publishing House in the coming days. Almost 300 delegates expressed their intention to speak. Because of a lack of time, only 49 delegates and a guest took the floor to express their thoughts live.

Because of the great expectation, the publishing house will not wait until the printers finish both volumes and the first volume will be sent to the shops as early as next week. This volume contains the opening lecture, the speeches, the speech summing up the debates, and the report of the drafting committee. It also carries the position of the party conference on the tasks facing the party and on the development of political institutions. The first volume of the protocol also contains the list of the party's central leading bodies and that of the delegates at the party conference. The book will cost 40 forints in paperback and 100 forints in hard cover.

Nyers Interviewed on July MSZMP CC Session

LD1707041188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, MSZMP Politburo member, by Andras Domany on the "168 Hours" program; date and place not given] [Excerpts] [Announcer] Two variants for economic development were discussed earlier this week at the Central Committee session. [passage omitted] After the session, Andras Domany called on Rezso Nyers, member of the Politburo, to ask him about the economy and the other major topic of the Central Committee session, the rights of association and assembly.

[Begin recording] [Domany] I have observed that people do not quite understand what the Central Committee has done with the economy. They expected a decision on the two variants. There was no decision. Is this not a continuation of the present policy of putting things off?

[Nyers] On the contrary, it is bringing the decision forward into a conceptual phase. Until now, the Central Committee only discussed the following year's plan in October or November, when it had to decide. By that time, decisions had already been made on the questions determining the direction of the plan sometime in the middle of the summer. We have now solved this midsummer conceptual negotiation not merely on the Politburo level but also on the Central Committee level. So, this is a sign that the Central Committee has entered the decisionmaking process in a substantive way. The Central Committee has left open the possibility of thinking in two variants, but has reaffirmed at the same time that the 'A' variant, which represents a substantive breakthrough out of the difficulties, needs to be taken as the basis.

[Domany] So there is still a great deal of uncertainty, partly reflected in the Central Committee debate. One of the best qualified persons, the president of the national bank, said that he was not sure that financing for this program could be found. In other words, he was not sure whether it would be possible to obtain the necessary confidence, and hence money, in the world of international finance. A few experts have expressed their opinions in HETI VILAGGAZDASAG. Some believe that liberalization is very dangerous if there is no adequately functioning market because this could cause an even greater collapse than the policy of restriction. In other words, the layman—ie. the majority—feels that people are arguing, which is a good thing, they are doing it openly, but they are still saying so many different things. What will this achieve?

[Nyers] The area we are about to enter with a significant relaxation of economic restrictions is obscure. It carries the danger that the economic equilibrium can even temporarily deteriorate. But after a temporary deterioration, it is certain that with the economy on a new course the equilibrium will improve. The president of the national bank must voice his anxiety that maybe this cannot be financed, thus warning in a way the decisionmakers that there is no open till [nincs szabad kassza] for making the decision, but that the money for it must also be created. As to whether we are prepared for a substantianal relaxation of the restrictions—ie. for an economic liberalization, so to speak—in my opinion this problem cannot be decided 1 year ahead, but planners must think in terms of at least 3 years. We must also calculate what will happen in'90 or'91 if the balance of payments deteriorates in'89, what will happen in'90 and'91? These questions have not yet been answered at the planners' desks.

[Domany] You have said that an improvement is certain after a temporary deterioration. Beyond this, which is of course very important—how confident the present and partly renewed leadership is—do I understand it correctly that the main proof for this is what Miklos Nemeth said in his summing up, namely that the present methods, no matter how much they are perfected and carried out consistently, have been proved to have failed both in our country and elsewhere, which is why we must take a sharp turn?

[Nyers] Yes, yes. Improvement is certain. I would correct this by saying that the possibility of improvement is certain. This is the time when we can do significant things in the economy because there is a political turning point.

[Domany] I feel there is a connection between the two Central Committee topics, the economic program and the rights of assembly and association.

[Nyers] The Hungarian political leadership does not have complete freedom to make decisions on this question. This is a European process. The European process began with the Helsinki agreement. We signed this. We started on this road and have gone farther than any other of the socialist countries. But we must complete this journey. Without such a political background we cannot fit well even into the international economy. This is in our fundamental national interest and in our economic interest.

The other process which is organically connected is the political ferment taking place in the USSR and in some other socialist countries, which is accompanied by the replacement of the Stalinist political mechanism in the direction of greater political freedom and democracy. We cannot stay out of this process either. We cannot create a communist identity without taking political steps of this nature.

[Domany] So is it malicious to say that this now is compensation, that you would not be doing it if the economic situation were not deteriorating? Because such opinions were also expressed in connection with introducing the world passport.

[Nyers] As a synthesis this is not true, but there is something in it. But for the economic difficulties we would not be in such great need of a relatively fast pace of reform policies. The driving force of all new developments—and this is also valid for socialists and communists—is difficulty and crisis, when the old ways have brought on a crisis.

[Domany] You promised at the Central Committee session that there would be more dissatisfied people, whose interests would be infringed upon or whose lives would be made harder by the economic development. Are you not afraid that the greater freedom to hold demonstrations, establish organizations, etc. will cause complications and difficulties not seen before?

[Nyers] I would be lying if I said that we were not afraid of the dangers. It has dangers; we must accept this risk. As a whole, the party's Central Committee believes—and I myself hold this view—that the political integration of Hungarian society is on such a plane that the danger we must anticipate is a localized one. But undesirable events on a localized scale are possible.

[Domany] This was the first time that the public could see a Central Committee session, whereas you have seen many. In your previous statements you criticized the activities, the substantive nature, of Central Committee sessions. Has the mood of the Central Committee changed?

[Nyers] The willingness of the Central Committee to engage in debate has greatly increased, and its members are freer in the expression of their opinions. They speak responsibly, but at the same time they often reflect freely. I think this benefits the movement. The decision making process, though certainly more time consuming, is none the worse for that. On the contrary, the decisions reached in the Central Committee's hall tend to be better. The TV lights were brought in; this was a strange sight. But the fear that it would be less democratic was not fulfilled at all. There was no significant indication of talking to an outside audience. I am not saying that this will never exist. It is possible that they will be addressing an outside audience, but to whom will they be speaking? To those who are in effect their electors. I myself also had some worries in the past regarding this, although my stance was not rigid. But I have given up my anxieties in this regard. [end recording]

Secretary Lukacs Addresses CC Session

AU1907142288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Jul 88 p 3-4

[Report on speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Lukacs at the MSZMP Central Committee session 14 July: "Report on the Central Committee and Politburo Cadre Sphere of Authority"]

[Text] In his introductory remarks, Janos Lukacs pointed out that the position of the MSZMP national conference requires modification of certain cadre work issues, including the party's authority on cadre work. The Politburo has discussed the report and submitted it to the Central Committee for approval.

"The authority of central party organs in cadre issues has changed considerably on two occasions in the past 15 years. Some 1,700 functions belonged to the central authority in 1973, including 850 personnel functions exercised by Central Committee secretaries," Janos Lukacs said. "The Central Committee eliminated the one-man responsibility of the Central Committee secretaries in 1973, and the Poliburo worked out the authority of preliminary agreement between Central Committee secretaries and department heads for the benefit of central coordination. Another important change took place in 1985 when the Politburo also eliminated the aforementioned right of preliminary agreement. Then, 1241 functions were listed in the body's sphere of authority, a number which we now propose to reduce to 435.

"In working out the Politburo's list of authorities, the Central Committee followed the principle that from the viewpoint of exercising power and implementing the party's leading role, the major leading functions should belong to the party's central sphere of authority. "Exercising this sphere of authority occurs in two forms: The body decides on personnel issues that belong to its own election or nomination authority, and takes a preliminary position on issues that belong to the election and nomination authority of other bodies."

Janos Lukacs then said that the Central Committee Secretariat as a decisionmaking body and one exercising a sphere of authority has ceased to exist. Most of the 800 staff reductions were carried out here.

"It continues to be an important requirement for the cadre work to see to it that decisions are made in places where the activity and person of various cadres can be best evaluated. All this requires regular multilateral consultations, exchanges of views, and cadre coordination on personnel issues in our everyday political activity. This is also a condition for having the best possible solutions and decisions emerge on personnel issues and making sure that the cadre working in leading positions are people who are suitable to carry out such activity, are willing and capable of strengthening the people's power, and are able to implement the party's leading role, people who enjoy the respect and confidence of their electors, and who are aware of the fact that their duty is to serve the people and that the effectiveness of their work is the major criterion of their evaluation. Our party continues to regard it as its task to make leaders face requirements, and the party assumes responsibility for making sure that leading positions are filled by people who meet the requirements of our cadre policy principles."

Janos Lukacs proposed that the Central Committee confirm that the party's authority and rights in cadre issues are indispensable means of implementing its leading role and political influence. Only elected party organs

can exercise this authority and rights. A party organ will make use of its decisionmaking rights exclusively in the case of functions within the party. The right of the preliminary position is exercised by a party organ. It makes use of this right when another body has the decisionmaking right. In conclusion, Janos Lukacs stressed that the preparation of personnel issues was closely related with the political, social, and economic renewal. All this requires thorough political activity, broad understanding and coordination of various opinions, and consistent implementation of cadre policy principles. Janos Lukacs proposed that the Central Committee instruct the district party organizations to review and organize their own list of authorities by considering the decisions of the Central Committee.

Leaders' Public Appearances 23-30 June

AU0107143388 [Editorial Report] Budapest newspapers in Hungarian from 24 to 30 June report on the public appearances of the following leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Haojahan Siahaan, departing ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia; date and place not given. (NEPSZABADSAG, 25 Jun, p 21)

Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade, participated in the national conference of the Retail Traders National Organization at the Hungaria Hotel in Budapest on 24 June. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 25 Jun, p 3)

Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, participated in a session of the Szabolcs-Szatmar County MSZMP Committee on 27 June. (NEPSZABADSAG, 29 Jun, p 8

Ilona Tatai, member of the MSZMP Politburo and general director of the Taurus Rubber Industry Enterprise, paid a visit to Pecs where she met with party and county leaders, the county National Assembly deputies, and local economic leaders on 24 June. (MAGYAR NEMZET, 25 Jun, p 2)

Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and Biharnagybajom National Assembly deputy, laid the cornerstone for a general school and party center complex in Biharnagybajom on 24 June. (NEPSZABADSAG, 25 Jun, p 21)

Minister of Interior Istvan Horvath, acting on behalf of the Presidential Council, awarded the Red Star Order of Merit to the Police Officers College; date and place not given. (NEPSZABADSAG, 25 Jun, p 20)

Trade Union Role in Socialist Society Analyzed

AU2906191788 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 Jun 88 p 5

[Article by Lajos Harza, chairman of a scientific department at the Research Institute for Agricultural Economy: "Who Will Protect Our Interests?"]

[Text] Every person and corporate body has a superior, a manager. Parents look after children; ministries and main authorities supervise enterprises, and are guided by the Council of Ministers; the Council of Ministers is responsible to the National Assembly; and the deputies of the National Assembly are elected by the citizens of the country. But who supervises the leading force of society—the party?

It is true that the party does not deny anyone's right to take a critical stand, but at the same time it maintains that its task is to comprise the opposition to its own weaknesses and mistakes. What follows from all this? A rather contradictory and unclear situation. The above proposition should logically lead to the following: "If you have contrary opinions, you should establish your own organizations and assert or try to assert your views in the process of the clash of interests." However, what it leads to in reality is the following: "If you have any observations or thoughts, let us know and we will take measures."

Function and Responsibility [subhead]

This train of thought blurs the limits of the abilities and opportunities of individuals, masses, and organizations to act, because the individual's task of facing his mistakes and overcoming his weaknesses, which he is able to do by means of extraordinary will and sacrifice, can be done only with difficulty or not at all by institutions, organizations, and mass parties. History demonstrates every day that institutions and (mass) organizations in themselves are unsuitable for and incapable of restricting their own power. Appropriate decisions can also be made without adequately counterbalancing power, but in this case there is no automatic guarantee that the decisionmaker will always consider the views held by strata and groups of people who are interested in the decision.

The power should, therefore, consider the existence of different opinions as natural. As a result of a long process, our society no longer denies the existence of contradictions of interest, but it has not yet reached the point of acknowledging that the groups and strata which embody these contradictions of interest have a right to represent themselves and their interests in an institutional manner, through their own organizations. Therefore, it is necessary to counterbalance the power. The example of several socialist countries—like Poland and Romania—demonstrates how far complete lack of supervision can lead. To establish such control, it is not inevitably necessary to establish a new party. This role

can be played by the National Assembly or the trade union; their sphere of tasks will, of course, be modified and they will be given the necessary authorization.

The trade unions in their present form, however, are hardly fit to implement the task for which they were intended. Because whose interests are represented by the trade unions? Those of the workers, naturally. But which workers? All workers, naturally: manual workers and the intelligentsia, subordinates and managers alike. Is this, however, so natural? Are their interests completely identical? And how does the trade union represent the interests of the workers? By protecting them from coming to harm at their work places, and also by encouraging them to achieve a greater performance—by organizing working competitions. Is this not a case of a split identity?

I will try to use a hypothetical course of action by the present secretary general of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] to demonstrate how relevant the term "split identity" is in our case. Let us assume that, after getting acquainted with the arguments and counterarguments of a trade union matter and after a thorough consideration of the circumstances, the secretary general makes a decision which contributes to the long-term interests of the trade union. The Central Committee or the Politburo holds a session some time later and, after getting acquainted with the arguments and counterarguments of the case and after a thorough consideration of the circumstances of the matter, the body—including the SZOT secretary general as a Politburo and perhaps a Central Committee member—makes a decision which contributes to the long-term interests of the country, but somewhat contradicts trade union interests.

What opportunities are available to the general secretary in his double or triple role? Being a trade union leader, he can vote against the initiative proposed to the Central Committee session. In this case, he can face the trade union membership with a clear conscience, because he has protected their interests. At the same time, however, he has also voted against the long-term interests of the country, and this might be a burden on his conscience, because in this case the long-term opportunities of the trade union will certainly be reduced, too. One could also conceive of an opposite decision, and in this case the secretary general will face an opposite dilemma of conscience. Naturally, we could also claim that, in reality, the decisionmaking process functions in neither direction, because the Council of Ministers and SZOT are constantly in touch with each other, they ask each other for advice, and the leaders of the organizations make their decisions according to previously coordinated positions. However, even if the process of decisionmaking occurs after it has been previously coordinated on several occasions, this still does not change the basic fact that the secretary general will sooner or later have to confront one aspect of his identity with the other part. This split identity situation cannot be pleasant for someone who fulfills his duties seriously, conscientiously, and with total devotion. And is there any reason to suppose that Hungarian society is not led by responsible people?

The Disadvangtages of Exaggerated Nationalization [subhead]

This split identity situation could emerge because we have merged processes which, by definition, should occur separately. We have laid the foundations for an overnationalized socialism, within which we have created central bureaucratic organs thought to be suitable for the management of mammoth industrial, agricultural, and other enterprises, and other such gigantic economic units. We have nationalized practically everything, and we are managing and guiding everything from above. Although the mode of management and guidance has varied from time to time (sometimes more, sometimes less), its essence has remained the same.

The top organs of the state and the mass organizations are closely interwoven in such an overnationalized socialism. The first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, the SZOT secretary general (its chairman), the secretary general of the National PPF Council, and the premier are at the same time also members of the MSZMP Central Committee, and even of the MSZMP Politburo. It is party members who invariably lead the ministries and main authorities. The national commander of the Workers' Guard; the president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; and the chairmen of the National Defense Association, the Hungarian Economic Chamber, the Hungarian Olympic Committee, the Hungarian Soccer League, and so on—are all party members.

We have been saying for years that, except for strictly party functions, everyone can fulfill any role in Hungary. In most cases, however, the director of a hospital, the president of a university, the director of a research institute, the principal of a general or secondary school, the chairman of a producer cooperative or local council, the general director, the independent trade union secretary are party members, and I could continue the list much further.

That is, we have tried to square the circle, but we have to admit that we cannot succeed in this. And, within this circle that we wanted to square, we have restricted the scope of organizations which we declared independent. But can we expect these organizations to dance with their hands and feet bound?

The basic law of the trade union stipulates, for example, the following rights: the right to be heard, to concur and make joint decisions, express one's opinion, supervise, protest (veto), represent, and make independent decisions. The Labor Code clearly states that the Council of

Ministers will regulate issues concerning the workers' living and working conditions after it has heard the opinion of SZOT. And it will issue certain resolutions together with SZOT.

The "essential" element of the right to be heard is that the competent administrative organ has to listen to the opinion of the trade union organ; but this administrative organ is not obliged to take it into consideration. That is, the trade union only has the right to be heard. However, is this a right at all? One is also heard in court and, if one is patient enough, one will perhaps have the opportunity to address the council....

Dual Function [subhead]

On the basis of the Labor Code, the trade unions can express an opinion on all issues, and the competent leaders are obliged to give a "substantiated" and written answer to this opinion. Even if we choose to disregard hairsplitting—that is, the fact that it is quite easy to make up a "substantiated" answer—we will still face the following question: Is it possible that, even in the 20th century, it is still necessary to regulate the process of expressing opinions? Is it possible that one's right to freedom of opinion and to express one's opinion freely should not be an original and natural right in a constitutional state? Should this right not be so obvious that one need no longer talk about it? And are we not discussing it so much because it is still not so obvious?

A certain part of the main trade union rights are in fact only apparent rights. It is no accident that the number of trade union members willing to accept trade union functions is decreasing nowadays, because whoever is willing to act will not readily occupy himself with activities carried out for the sake of appearances. Nor is it an accident that so many people have recently left the trade union. A considerable number of people have on the one hand become disillusioned with the trade union movement and with marking time; on the other hand, they see no way out of the difficulties. It is also obvious that SZOT is also responsible for the fact that the country has reached this point, not in the least because of the abovementioned duality of functions. SZOT has quite considerably contributed to slowing down the reform process and postponing structural reorganization, and to the decrease in the value of intellectual work.

The example of the capitalist countries makes it quite possible to trace the circumstances in which the trade unions developed and the effects of their functioning. We can start from the premise that the specific organizations to protect interests in this profit-oriented world did not develop by accident. The trade unions were established and able to gain strength in the West because the capitalists realized that, in this manner, their losses would be smaller than in a situation where workers interests surface spontaneously and with many fluctuations; in other words, they exchanged an organized process of negotiation for an organized working process. The history of capitalism demonstrates that this was a good deal, because the existence of organizations which are independent of each other has provided the workers with a secure existence and an appropriate standard of living; and it has also made considerable profits for the capitalists. The sacrifice made by both sides has also turned into gain on both sides. And if all this has occurred in conditions where a minority dominates the majority, can we doubt the results in Hungary, where the people hold the power?

Pozsgay Addresses History Academy Opening

LD0507124688 Budapest in Hungarian to Europe 1900 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] A national knowledge-of-the homeland academy has opened in Tata for the study of the development of Magyar consciousness, the connections between places of national memorial and the national awareness, as well as the role of churches in Hungary.

In his speech, which was followed with great interest, party Politburo member Imre Posgay said that in the present phase of our development there is greater need than ever before for a realistic evaluation of our history.

The participants in the 1-week consultation elaborated a stance in which they protest against the Romanian village-destruction plans.

Gorbachev Visit 'Without Precedent'

AU1907142488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 88 p 3

[Commentary by Zygmunt Slomkowski: "A Visit Held in Public"]

[Text] It was a political visit without precedent. This was largely because it turned into a visit that took place in public, into dialogue that was, to a large extent, held in the streets and on squares with the participation of thousands of people. I would like to stress the word dialogue, that is, conversation, because the visit was not confined to statements by the Soviet leader. All the people that Mikhail Gorbachev met—in places envisaged in the program and where he stopped by chance—spoke, asked questions, and expressed their opinions.

So, we can say that Mikhail Gorbachev was literally, and not just figuratively, the guest of the Polish public. What is more, the visit was not just attended by an atmosphere of hospitality, which is one of our national traits, but also by a feeling of sincerity, warmth, and genuine directness, which was so forcefully expressed in what people cried and the slogans that appeared on some of the banners; slogans that simply addressed the Soviet leader by his Christian name or even used the diminutive. In our country, addressing official people in this way is not an indication of some kind of trivial familiarity, but an expression of a highly personal and emotional attitude toward a visitor, an attitude of respect imbued with sympathy and faith, of all those things that extend well beyond political categories. Mikhail Gorbachev sensed this, because he spoke about the mood often, and one could even detect a certain amount of surprise when he did so. It was precisely this atmosphere he had in mind when he said that a few years ago an event of this kind would still have been impossible.

Journalists were not the only people to ask themselves how this had come about today. I think that some words spoken by Wojciech Jaruzelski provide an answer: "Poland has had a difficult history and its present is complicated, but one thing is certain—it repays respect with respect, kindness with kindness, and kind-heartedness with kind-heartedness."

Quite simply, we associate Gorbachev with the respect that he bestows on us, with the kindness that he shows us, and with the heart that he opens to us. These are high-sounding words to use. Perhaps, they can only be applied to relations between states with difficulty, but these are the very elements that have been present in what has been happening in the Polish-Soviet partnership in recent years, and Mikhail Gorbachev, along with Wojciech Jaruzelski, has been one of its main architects. He is casting aside the deadwood that is holding us back, knocking down the barriers erected by the past, bringing down to earth the idea and practice of cooperation, and substituting concrete action for slogans. The very course of the visit was already part of this drawing together and the process according to which our relations will assume what we call a mass participation character.

So, it is not surprising that this was the subject that dominated the conversations that took place in the streets and the speeches that the two leaders made. Quite simply, there is something to speak about: the past, the present, and the future. Understanding our history and our present was something that was stressed when Mikhail Gorbachev visited the main square in Krakow, the Warsaw citadel, and St Mary's Church. The tears of emotion that could be seen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Krakow who were present at the Kosciuszko plaque said more about overcoming prejudices than dozens of declarations.

Poles must have been moved by Mikhail Gorbachev's words that an alliance with Poland is essential for the USSR and that the USSR supports a strong socialist Poland not only because the two countries are close neighbors, but also because Poland's stable development is significant for common security and European policy as a whole.

The Soviet leader's high appraisal of our reform solutions was a practical expression of acknowledgement and respect for Polish reform-oriented activities, as was his active participation in the meeting at Warsaw Castle, at which various views were established and which constituted a dialogue between Polish intellectuals and the Soviet leader. This is the context in which I would place the words addressed by Mikhail Gorbachev to Wojciech Jaruzelski and the personal ties of friendship that have developed between the two leaders.

However, what accompanied the visit most of all was an awareness in Poland of the importance of restructuring [Russian word used], which is so closely connected with the person of Mikhail Gorbachev. "Restructuring [Russian word used] is it," the slogan that appeared at Warsaw airport, is the clearest expression of this attitude and illustrates the profound satisfaction that exists, because Soviet restructuring and Poland's socialist renewal are like two sisters treading the same path. And this thought permeated many of the conversations that Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski had with the inhabitants of Warsaw, Krakow, Podhale, and Szczecin.

It is not a secret that visits of this kind take a long time to prepare. Every point contained in the program is carefully determined, because every one of the points assumes symbolic importance, becomes the substance that defines the sense and purpose of the visit. Political generalizations are conveyed through joint declarations, but a journalist can go beyond the framework of a declaration and independently interpret the successive stages of Gorbachev's trip through Poland.

For me, Bialy Dunajec and Poronin demonstrated the CPSU's return to Leninist principles, which were revived in the 27th congress program. Let us recall that Mikhail Gorbachev is the first leader of the Soviet party to have visited these places. This has another dimension for Poles, one that is particularly important for Poles as we are approaching the 50th anniversary of the restoration of the Polish state. The October Revolution was a decisive factor in leading our eastern neighbor to put an end to the partitioning policy, which Lenin confirmed with his own signature.

Krakow united the past, represented by our cultural heritage, with the future, represented by youth. The success of restructuring and renewal will depend on young people, because these are long processes that have to be continued by young people.

Szczecin was the place that saw the birth of just protests by workers, which is something that gave added impetus to the changes initiated by our party's ninth congress. It also marked a reaffirmation by the Soviet leader of the inviolability of our borders as a lasting element of European stability and an act of respect and homage to those who returned native Polish soil to the motherland and to those who restored life there and are today engaged in building and creating the future of our country.

The two Warsaw stages of the program concerned recent history most of all: the war, the barbaric destruction, and the labors of people who sought to treat the injuries that were inflicted on them. These experiences and the wish to prevent further calamities gave rise to new ideas about world affairs and plans, based on these ideas, to halt the arms and lead nations onto the path of cooperation. Thus, Warsaw was the right place for Mikhail Gorbachev to announce further proposals aimed at achieving these goals on our continent, proposals that are in accord with the substance of the Jaruzelski Plan.

But a new world has to be built wisely. It requires the mobilization of minds and initiative on the part of thinking people. That is why Mikhail Gorbachev met people of this kind at Warsaw castle to hear their opinions and proposals. If, now that the visit is over, someone were to ask me what I consider to be the single most important aspect of the visit, I would say: a common view of the present and the future and an awareness of our natural ties. But I would have to add that it was the visit that conveyed this common view and awareness deep into our society, which was actively involved in the Polish-Soviet talks over the last few days.

Jaruzelski Addresses TRYBUNA LUDU Meeting

AU0807201288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jun 88 p 2

[Anna Pawlowska report: "They Boldly Do What They Think Is Right"]

[Text] Speaking at a meeting at the offices of TRYBUNA LUDU in Warsaw on 26 June of people who had won prizes in the 1988 TRYBUNA LUDU competitions to find the best artists and political and social aktivists, State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed his appreciation for the broad palette of TRYBUNA LUDU awards which honor such a variety of activity. He also congratulated the prizewinners, who happen to have received them in a year which marks TRYBUNA LUDU's 40th anniversary. In connection with this, he addressed warm words to the editors and staff of TRYBUNA LUDU.

Next, he discussed the dramatic accumulation of difficult economic problems. Referring to a remark made earlier whereby it is not economists who are responsible for economic policy, W. Jaruzelski admitted that the authorities are responsible. However, economists and journalists, even TRYBUNA LUDU journalists, also bear a share of responsibility for informing and educating society. Not even the best decisions are of much use unless they encounter society's understanding. A measure of the complexity of the situation is the fact that journalists and economists fail to agree on a joint assessment thereof, as the debate on the second stage of the economic reform has shown. So the point is to achieve systemic alterations without pretending that difficulties and sacrifice can be avoided.

Recalling the eternal Polish dispute about positivism and romanticism, W. Jaruzelski noted that while there is a visible need for contemporary positivism, the emotional moral sensitivity of romanticism should not be rejected. Romanticism is all the more necessary because apart from all the objective material difficulties that beset us, there are other kinds of difficulties as well, the kind that make it look as if people are deliberately upsetting each other and not taking others into consideration. Therefore it is necessary to clean up not only the physical field, but also the humanitarian, human field. And this is an important scope of activity for the press, said W. Jaruzelski.

Speaking about moods, he pointed out that the current fashion for catastrophism is no less dangerous than the past craze for cheap optimism. Criticism is valuable when it manifests itself in activity, not in morbid pleasure derived from memories of past suffering [cierpietnictwo]. Proving equal to the times which are already here or are to come means assuming responsibility for the state of the country and for civic duties. This is of fundamental importance for the further course of our domestic affairs, but it also affects Poland's image in the world, which will not hold us in esteem for the deeds of Kosciuszko forever.

Next, underlining the party's unchanging desire to further develop democracy, W. Jaruzelski stressed that the speed of this development depends mainly on the attainment of economic stability. Referring to the Seventh Central Committee Plenum, he said that one of the important objectives of cadres policy is to use what is best in people.

Rakowski Addresses Guests

AU0907170288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jun 88 p 2

[Zygmunt Slomkowski report: "Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski Meets With TRYBUNA LUDU's Foreign Guests"]

[Text] On 25 June, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with the foreign guests attending TRYBUNA LUDU Days—with representatives of 35 press organs of the communist and workers parties in 30 countries in Europe, Asia, and America. The meeting was attended by Jerzy Majka, TRYBUNA LUDU chief editor.

M. Rakowski stressed that the party and the government continue to focus their attention on implementing the reforms and that the seventh Central Committee plenum had noted that these reforms are late in many spheres and that the reasons for this are rooted in the disadvantageous determining conditions of the economy, factors resulting from our large debts and from the fact that many people are unable to come to terms with the changes in the existing practices and convictions. It will take a longer time to achieve a new quality of the system of administration and economic management.

Answering many questions, M. Rakowski discussed the following issues:

The elections to the people's councils: Taking into account the conditions of some sections of the working people, the discontent resulting from these conditions, and the new election law (this was elections and not voting), the results of these elections should be assessed as satisfactory. However, there is no reason for satisfaction if we consider theses results from the viewpoint of the party's influence on people. In addition, people have still not gotten used to the idea of self-government as their attitudes indicate. The election results are positive when viewed against the background of history. The communists must get used to the fact that there will never again be a situation in which everyone applauds them. Besides, there has never been a situation in which everyone was with us.

Trade union pluralism: This pluralism is written into the trade union law, but the relevant paragraph has been suspended, because if we implemented it to suit the ideas of former Solidarity leaders and their various friends in the West, we would very soon be back in 1981. The Polish people and not the people in Italy or France would have to pay for that. However, no one can predict how things will develop and what structures will be created within 5 to 10 years.

Solidarity is a closed chapter of the past, and I regret that some Western friends continue to maintain the Solidarity myth. If the West did not maintain that myth, it would not now be in existence. It would not exist, but not because action would have been taken to combat the Solidarity people. It would not be in existence simply because the provisions of the trade union law and of our reforms go much further than the rank and file members of Solidarity could have ever imagined way back in 1980. Our adversaries have no program to counter our program, except for demanding that Solidarity be reinstated. But their program is not a political program or a program for reforms. Why is this so? Because you cannot produce anything unless you profess the principles of the Constitution. The program for economic reforms is a product of the work done by many scientists, practitioners, and people professing various political views, which are often far removed from our views and from the views professed by the Solidarity members who were advisers or members of the Commission for the Reform, which had been established even before Solidarity was established. The program for economic reforms is not a product of party and state bureaucracy.

Today Solidarity is represented by a small group of activists, who have lost their influence especially in the course of the past 2 years. This was demonstrated by their unsuccessful attempts to foment unrest and disturbances last April and May. One can only wonder at various vocal expressions of some people in the West, who seem to give little thought to the fact that that small group of Solidarity activists is on the official payroll of the United States. How is it possible to be indifferent to such facts?

We do not to have to be egged on. We continue to realize our policy of democratization and to create new facts. However, the processes of social development have to mature. One must not transfer one's vision of democracy, socialism, or capitalism to another specific country. Why is it that people refuse to grant us the right to create our own system of democracy in line with other laws of the economy?

Cooperation within CEMA: There are many obstacles caused by the past, such as every country's desire to build its own industries, prices that are based on wishful thinking, laws defined by officials in the Planning Commission, and a lack of objective factors to give a new value to production. We do not have the tradition of international cooperation that the EEC countries have. Because there was no economic experience, today one must form a favorable psychological climate. As long as a young Pole cannot put on a rucksack and go off to Berlin, Moscow, or Prague, or the other way round, we cannot expect rapid economic integration.

Society and the party: Society does not have enough confidence in the party. According to public opinion polls, the following political-state institutions enjoy the greatest social confidence in descending order—the Sejm, the Army, and the government.

The latest changes in the party leadership and the reforms: Much depends on who is in the leadership. But the success of the reform depends on many hundreds of cadres.

Foreign debts: Repayment is a long-term process. Because of the debts, the West is clutching our throats, treating Poland like a tool. It is interested in unrest in Poland as the largest European socialist country after the USSR. One cannot expect this strategy to alter.

Wages: An average of Z50,000 a month in the four basic branches of industry. There are greater differences in incomes among Polish society than there were 5 years ago. However, it is not true that the whole country is deep in poverty, though there are occupations that are on the threshold of hardship, but not poverty.

When will socialism be built in Poland? The socialist formation is a fact. It is being rebuilt; it is shedding its old skin, but the basic values will remain. One can hold a debate on the meaning of socialism in Poland. In Poland we have carried out revolutionary changes that are beneficial to the nation, but we have succumbed to doctrinarianism. We have seen dogmatic socialism. We are returning to the source. So the question is not whether or not to have socialism, but what kind of socialism to have. May it be better than capitalism, may it be accepted by people.

The possibility of an anticrisis pact: The essence of the matter is not what kind of pact. Signatures will not change anything. If a factory possesses raw materials and has the possibility of buying equipment, then people work at top speed and nothing interests them except high wages. It is economic results that will mainly determine social moods. Of course we advocate an expansion of the base of management by society, an expansion of social support, and a consolidation of the climate of confidence, and we recognize the fact that different political orientations exist. But let nobody expect miracles. Economics has its own laws, and they decide.

Incentives for young people to act: Every year there are 300,000 jobs waiting for young people. There are educational possibilities. Therefore the starting point is different than in capitalism. Nevertheless, young people's demands are increasing. We cannot offer them that which would satisfy them. But socialism has also demoralized people, promising them a trouble-free life and state care from the cradle to the grave. And today they wonder when we say that one has to work to achieve something and that each is responsible for his own status. Reality in Poland is complicated and varied. The reforms have revealed discrepancies which we failed to see or ignored. Now we do see them, and are drawing conclusions. Maybe the conclusions are still incomplete and imperfect, but we are drawing them.

Orzechowski Addresses CC Ideological Commission

AU0807165288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 88 p 2

[Report on speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 23 June session of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission in Warsaw]

[Text] "Marxist-Leninist theory has faced major new tasks. The point is no longer a mere concretization of experience, but a critical-minded verification of theoretical thinking about socialism." With these words, Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, opened a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission, which was also attended by members of the team responsible for preparing for the Third Polish National Theoretical-Ideological Conference.

Sharing his thoughts, M. Orzechowski said that reaction to the new challenges facing socialism and its theoretical basis, Marxism-Leninism, is extremely varied. One school of thought consists of dogmatic and ossified schematization, and the other consists of doubts in socialism and in its possibilities and reformability. Nevertheless, the seeking of new solutions prevails. But even here there is an absence of unanimity. Is this absence not illustrated by attempts to build a new model of socialism from scratch and simultaneous doubts in the purpose of seeking a developed theoretical vision of socialism, asked M. Orzechowski.

Calling for a new, universal model of the system is nothing other than a secret longing for a new utopia, a theory that is far removed from reality and the present, he continued. This presents the danger that outdated forms of socialism may be restored to the same level as its universal, unshakable principles.

Rebuilding socialist theory and giving it a modern shape ought to be the result of other factors, M. Orzechowski said. The driving force for this rebuilding is provided by a return to the root values of socialism, Marxism, humanism, rationality, and development energy, coupled with a frank analysis of the social situation and the conditions for implementing the values and objectives of socialism.

We must realize that we are facing a dramatic choice, M. Orzechowski stressed. Either a "cosmetic" change with delayed reaction and decisions, or a thorough and really revolutionary renewal and restructuring of socialism in Poland. The requirement of today is to have the courage to be bold, look the truth in the eye, cross the border that seemed impossible to cross, and dispense with the many myths and taboos that have been buried inside us for decades.

Hupalowski Views Government Report

AU1507162788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jul 88 p 5

[Report on speech by Tadeusz Hupalowski, chairman of the Supreme Control Chamber at the 12 July session of the Sejm: "On the Government Report on Realizing the 1986-90 National Socioeconomic Plan and State Budget in 1986-87"]

[Text] In most fields the results of our economic development in 1987 were below the average growth indexes in 1983-85 and below the results in 1986. Almost the entire increase in national income was due to increased

social productivity. There is no disputing the fact that the conditions for the development of the national economy are getting worse and worse. The main goal of the national socioeconomic plan—to enable the national economy to develop in a balanced and effective way—was attained to a limited extent. Foreign trade developments were more favorable, and the upsurge in exports was accelerated. Our debts in socialist currencies increased very little, and the balance of payments with the countries of the second payments area was positive. We repaid $1.8 billion, mostly in interest, which, in our conditions, is an enormous sum. Some branches of industry were able to increase their exports by more than 10 percent. Our exports to the second payments are continuing to increase this year.

However, various negative features include the excessive proportion of fuels, raw materials, semifinished goods, and unsophisticated products in our overall exports. We continue to export mostly standard and not very up-to-date goods that are material- and energy-intensive.

The unfavorable structure of exports goes hand in hand with product finishing that is often very shoddy. What is more, this trend toward shoddiness is worsening. The low effectiveness of our export transactions was compensated by a considerable accumulation of imported goods, which are offered to domestic customers at very high prices. Unpardonable carelessness was shown in signing contracts with doubtful, bankrupt, and even fictitious partners. The new institutional solutions have produced a new feature in foreign trade, namely, competition between Polish enterprises, a thing that hardly exists in domestic trade.

Export policy continues to bear fruit and economic incentives have begun to operate, but at a cost. In 1986 the bonus—in the form of income taxation reliefs and ministerial awards—for earning a rubel or a dollar amounted to Z91, but in 1987 it amounted to as much as Z272.

Investment outlays that are much in excess of the investment plan accounted for some of the crucial causes of economic imbalance. Compared with 1986, these investments increased much faster than national income.

This increase did not go hand in hand with the fulfillment of investment tasks, as attested to by the fact that only 63 percent of the tasks planned for 1987 were completed. Since the investment process is still dispersed and since the fulfillment of investment tasks is low, some investment outlays became frozen and some could not be used in the right way.

The mean period in which 11 investments subjected to control were to be completed was 38 months, but now the completion will take 75 months.

The situation of housing construction has been critical for years, and various programs to improve it have been useless. Construction sites for housing, especially for private housing, are still very difficult to acquire.

The time it takes to complete housing projects is still very, very long. The socially urgent problem of eliminating technological defects in housing construction has still not been solved. The consistency of turning over new apartments for occupation has deteriorated.

That is why we should hopefully welcome the comprehensive efforts and initiatives of the minister of land use management and construction that are designed to improve the most lamentable state of housing construction.

Checks carried out in construction-assembly enterprises again established that basic materials continue to be wasted. Bad management goes hand in hand with the increases in prices for construction work, prices that are much higher than the ceilings established in 1987. Checks on calculations of costs and prices showed that the payments asked for construction work were excessive, and so were the profit margins. By manipulating prices, construction enterprises were able to greatly increase their profits.

The centrally administered resources of production fuels and materials increased by only 1.8 percent. The crucial reason for supply difficulties is supposed to be irregular imports, mainly from the second payments area. This is not entirely true, because the numerous checks we carried out last year on the management of materials, fuels, and energy noted a glaring waste.

The socioeconomic plan provides for reducing the energy-intensiveness of the national income by 9-11 percent, which means that in 1990 we should be able to reduce the consumption of basic fuels in relative terms by 22 million tonnes of contracted fuels, compared with 1985. The necessary measures were defined in the program of action to improve the use of materials, fuels, and energy in 1986-90. Our checks have established that the potential to implement such a program was greatly overestimated when the program was being drawn up and that conservation indexes were increased several times over. We expect that this conservation will not exceed 4-5 million tonnes of fuels in 1990.

Since that program is thus greatly out of date, the Supreme Control Chamber suggested that a new program incorporating the latest data be drawn up, and that possibilities be examined to establish whether and how far our fuel-energy resources could be balanced in 1990 and beyond.

The fiscal situation of public-sector enterprises was improved in 1987 and their dependence on the state budget was relaxed, mostly as a result of price hikes and of the devaluation of the zloty in foreign transactions.

For example, industrial sales in fixed prices increased 3.3 percent and in current prices by 30.9 percent. This means that the increase in the value of sales was about 90-percent due to price increases, and only about 10-percent due to the increased volume of goods and services.

The fiscal situation of individual enterprises shows great differences.

The feasible possibilities of improving the economy by restoring its balance, curbing inflation, and thus bettering the working peoples' material conditions, depend mainly on progress in effective economic management. Effective instruments of economic policy such as prices, taxation, concessions, subsidies, and loans are thought to be able to stimulate the efficiency of independent and self-managing enterprises. However, the effectiveness of these instruments in improving economic management and in countering the annual budget deficit was modest.

In a situation of increasing imbalance with regard to supplies, the market, and investments, it is very difficult to create financial instruments or define parameters which would ensure a return to equilibrium. Nevertheless, we believe last year's fiscal policy solutions were ineffective in stopping the accumulation of excessive funds by enterprises. In particular, fiscal policy did not stop an excessive influx of funds to enterprises, caused mainly by the price increases.

The level of taxation on the financial results of enterprises was of no advantage to the budget, because of the many tax concessions granted to enterprises and individual workers. Because of an increase in tax concessions, tax on enterprises fell from 50.4 percent in 1986 to 45.9 percent in 1987.

The financial and goods imbalance deteriorated, even though market supplies had risen by over 4 percent in terms of fixed prices and prices had risen by 9 points more than planned. This was because the population's incomes exceeded the planned level by a considerable amount, and because people made unexpected purchases through fear of a further rise in inflation, especially toward the end of the year.

The fall in the number of economic units with either a zero credit rating or faced with the loss of this illustrates the increased financial independence of enterprises. In 1987 the number of units in such a situation fell by 224, in other words, by one quarter. This included 59 state enterprises, and as many as 165 cooperatives. One can blame this on the possibilities of gaining easy money by raising prices and on the phenomenon of direct loans issued by one enterprise to another, avoiding banks. Enterprises of major economic significance even needed outside help from the state budget and industrial equalization funds. I have a basis for saying that inefficient economic units were supported in this way, at the expense of highly productive ones. All this gradually reduced the effectiveness of the selective credit policy of banks, designed to stimulate collective and individual productivity.

Many of the phenomena I have discussed were reflected in the budgets of people's councils. One cannot avoid mentioning the increased transfer of funds from the central budget to field budgets, made necessary by increases in official prices, wage rises, and the "overblown" investment programs of the people's councils. This also contributed to the unfavorable results in the central budget.

Thus, in 1987 the conditions were difficult and the results modest in relation to expectations. A comprehensive analysis of the situation has clearly confirmed that the more determined implementation of the economic reform was justified. This illustrates a determination to heal the economy and a desire to conduct honest dialogue with society—a sign of further democratization of the state and a further step along the road to our socialist renewal.

However, the road leading to a proper tempo and rhythm for our economy is still long. But the reserves, even simple reserves, are considerable. These reserves are inherent in the management sphere and in the production sphere.

Economics is the art of selection. In our highly complicated economic situation, our government bodies, also availing themselves of the extraordinary powers vested in them, are expected to select those solutions and reach those decisions that ensure further tangible progress in "extinguishing" inflation, increasing production, and raising quality, while observing strict austerity with discipline. Today, it is only the results that count.

Economic Reform Committee's Recommendations

LD2406211388 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 24: At today's session the government committee for the implementation of the economic reform gave its recomendation to a draft ordinance under which duty free zones can be set up in Poland. The committee urged the acceleration of work on the principles of organization and functioning of Poland's first duty free zone in the north-western city of Szczecin.

Also today the committee granted recommendation to the draft decree on periodical changes in the principles of shaping pay funds, issued on the basis of the law on special powers for the government. The aim of the decree is to strongly motivate enterprises to increase exports and to simultaneously maintain production for domestic market at least at the level recorded in 1987. Suggested motivations concern enterprises in which the share of profitable exports accounts for a least 50 percent of production.

The committee also offered its recommendation to the assumptions envisaging the introduction of the second part of stability tax imposed on all economic units which are legal entities. (The first part of this tax was specified by a government decree from last May 30.) The committee particularly supported those proposed solutions which simplify the way the tax in question is counted—in tune with postulates of many enterprises.

TU Official on Prices, Incomes Policy

LD1907153188 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 8 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Waclaw Martyniuk, deputy chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation (OPZZ), by KAR (National Workers' Press Agency) correspondent Irena Scholl; date and place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] When, at the beginning of the year, prices, wages, and benefits were increased, the increases were accompanied by an assurance from the premier that an assessment of the price and wage policy would be made after the 1st 6 months of the year. It is to be expected that the trade unions will, by their very nature, act as a "critical co-reporter" in this assessment. How are you preparing for it?

[Martyniuk] The OPZZ Research and Analysis Institute does not prepare such assessments at the premier's request, or even for special occasions, but—in compliance with the congress resolutions—it prepares quarterly analyses. We keep a methodical watch on the living standard of working people and their families.

[Scholl] On the basis of your own findings?

[Martyniuk] The trade union movement is not yet wealthy enough to be able to afford its own data collection facilities. We use the materials obtained by the Main Statistical Office and a large number of scientific institutes. We have no reason to doubt their reliability.

[Scholl] So the data are the same but the conclusions are very different indeed! One notes that on many occasions in the talks between the unions and the government the same figures are interpreted differently.

[Martyniuk] Viewpoints can change according to one's situation...

[Scholl] Government representatives usually say that prices must keep pace with the "runaway" wages or we will have a situation where the only commodity left in our stores will be vinegar [reference to worst food shortages of 1981]. And the trade unions say: "Wages are barely keeping pace with prices." How are you going to demolish the argument that the rate of wage increases for the 1st 5 months of this year was higher than the rate of price increases and that, consequently, goods are now disappearing from the market?

[Martyniuk] We will demolish it by asserting that global figures distort the picture of the financial situation of individual population groups. Some 30 percent of workers live below the minimum subsistence level and the situation in pensioners' families is even worse.

[Scholl] But at the same time the unions have often spoken out against uniform wage leveling.

[Martyniuk] if only the growing income differentials were solely the result of a fair distribution of the socialist "loaf of bread"! But they are not. Each of us could quote several—or more—true cases of people who have attained material advantage through cunning schemes rather than laudable enterprise and solid application. And at least several—or more—cases of people in difficult financial circumstances who are excellent workers and highly qualified specialists but who are employed in badly paid sectors of the economy.

It is, among other things, our sense of social justice which does not allow us to accept disproportionate wage differentials between the sphere of material production and that financed by the state budget. But we know that, for example, doctors and teachers are again falling behind in relation to those who manufacture material goods, although they handle the most important aspects of our life: the condition of our bodies and our minds.

[Scholl] Apart from the need to improve wage correlations between the material production and budgetary spheres, what other conclusions can be drawn from the regular, ongoing analyses carried out by the trade unions?

[Martyniuk] The need to improve the correlation between the average wage and the average pension. The latter currently constitutes less than 54 percent of the former, whereas last year the figure was more than 58 percent—although it was not easy to reach that state of affairs!

It is also becoming urgently necessary to raise the levels of the social welfare and housing funds. Their revalorization is being carried out with a 6-month delay....

[Scholl] ...and this creates a situation in which many worker families cannot afford to go on vacation because vacation allowances are very low.

[Martyniuk] Precisely. And for the past 40 years we have had it impressed upon us how important a good, restorative vacation is for our health and for the quality of our life. We must not let that value slip away from us now.

Another priority which becomes apparent in the analysis of our prices and incomes policy is the need to alter the formula for wage taxation. The new tax on wages above the normative limit hampers productivity.

[Scholl] Do you have any evidence for this?

[Martyniuk] The evidence can be seen in the market, in the form of increasing quantities of "attractive" goods. I am deliberately sarcastic here, of course: They are "attractive" because they are hard to find.

If we have a situation in which over 5 months of this year production figures for 43 out of 78 grades of goods have been falling in comparison with the same period last year, this is clearly significant.

[Scholl] Financial and wage experts blame the unions for it because they have forced the granting of the 6,000-zloty wage allowance and now, as a result of that, enterprises have no funds for incentive bonuses which can stimulate their employees to higher productivity and increased output.

[Martyniuk] The 6,000-zloty allowance was an essential move necessary to prevent a catastrophic drop in real wages. Those financial experts should rather be thinking what could be done to make it financially attractive for enterprises to employ as many highly qualified people with good productivity records as possible and to let them earn good money. As things are now, it is precisely for those employees that enterprises are paying the highest tax on wages above the normative limit.

[Scholl] Are you not afraid of being charged with voicing excessively high demands and keeping the inflation spiral climbing?

[Martyniuk] Attempts at squashing inflation through the application of price increases constitute a method which places us in a vicious circle. On the other hand, it would be worth asking ourselves why, despite pressure from the unions, PRON, and a whole host of economists, our attempts at restructuring the economy keep failing and why there is still no chance of any definite technological advancement. Why do we still have no policy designed to encourage market supply—apart from constant assurances and protestations? Why do we not assess our economy from the citizen's and customer's viewpoint? Why do we not assess the increase in production in terms of meters, kilograms, numbers of items produced, and other calculable measures instead of quoting production value figures, which are misleading and give a false picture? Why is it necessary to resort to public pressure to enforce the application of suitable incentives to save materials and components?

There are many more questions along these lines.

Finally, I would like to point out that the obligation to protect the working people's living standard does not derive exclusively from our trade union congress resolutions, but also from the program of the 10th PZPR Congress, the Sejm electoral program, and the National Socioeconomic Plan.

Text of New Military Oath Published

AU2906171188 Warsaw ŻOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18-19 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Text of Oath"]

[Text] I, a PPR citizen joining the ranks of the Polish Army, swear to faithfully serve my fatherland and nation, heed the Constitution, and be worthy of the splendid traditions of Polish arms.

I swear that, sparing no toil and, if necessary, blood and life, I will unceasingly guard my country's independence, sovereignty, and borders, and guard peace in armed comradeship with the allied armies.

I swear to uphold the honor and good name of the Army; conscientiously perform my soldierly duties; closely carry out the orders of my superiors; and be a disciplined, manly, honest, and comradely soldier.

I swear to gain knowledge and military proficiency; look after the weapon, equipment, and property entrusted to me; and preserve state and official secrets.

Taking this ceremonious oath, I am mindful of my responsibility toward the nation and the laws of the socialist Polish state.

To the glory of the fatherland and upon the banner—I swear!

State Council Views College Cadres, New Envoys

AU1907133988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 88 p 9

[Excerpts] PAP—On 14 July there was a meeting of the State Council at the Belvedere Palace. [passage omitted]

The State Council examined a report on the cadres policy in colleges and considered the process of cadre training, especially the possibilities of faster career advancement for young employees with conspicuous academic achievements. It said that professorial titles ought to be conferred on such cadres earlier. Particular attention was devoted to fields of education where there is a shortage of teaching staff.

Next, the State Council viewed a report on Polish citizens returning to Poland. It was suggested that the recent relaxation of passport rules should make more Poles resident abroad decide to return to Poland.

The State Council viewed a report on the possibilities of further tightening up the contacts with Poles abroad. It underlined the fact that expanding cooperation with emigre Poles in all spheres (economic, social, and cultural) should be a permanent process.

The State Council appointed the following ambassadors:

—Dionizy Bilinski, PPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Pakistan;

—Stefan Szymczykiewicz, PPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Nineteen people were granted Polish citizenship.

Catholic Freedom of Association Examined

AU2007093588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jul 88 p 4

[Waldemar Kedaj commentary: "Socialism Is Also Being Built by Believers"]

[Text] The interest of the Western press has been aroused by a fragment of Wojciech Jaruzelski's Sejm speech that dealt with a socialist state's relations with the Roman Catholic Church, especially the sentence whereby the general outline of a kind of historic compromise, a possible contribution of ours to the new thinking, is taking shape. Wladyslaw Loranc, minister of religious affairs, has said that this statement by the PPR State Council chairman ought to be considered a conclusion from the entire period of 1956-88, which was marked by a constant improvement in church-state relations, and at the same time an assessment of the current positive state of these relations. This view is shared by the party and the Catholic Church in Poland and in Rome, as illustrated by a conclusion reached last year whereby the political practice of mutual relations is better than their legal dimension, and therefore it is time to establish diplomatic relations between the PPR and Holy See and to settle the church's legal status in Poland. At the same time, this turnabout provides an opportunity for those lay circles whose work is inspired by the church's social teachings to play a greater role.

W. Loranc praised the constructive role of Catholic associations, especially the PAX Association, Christian Social Association, and Polish Catholic-Social Union, in finding answers to the question how to build socialism in a country where 90 to 92 percent of the population are Catholics.

The latest visible increase in initiatives coming from lay Catholics, illustrated by the existence of Catholic clubs in 48 voivodships, deserves to be praised. Lay Catholics may also play an important part in cementing relations between the Polish leftwing on the one hand and that part of Polish society inspired by the Catholic Church's social teachings or Christian social thought on the other.

Referring to the communique on the recent session of the Polish Episcopal Conference, W.Loranc said that the Polish bishops did not call for any new association, but for greater possibilities for Catholics to associate together. However, the statement that such association should be independent of differences in world outlook, religious conviction, and even political views gives rise to misunderstanding. If this were to make it possible for antisocialist forces questioning Yalta and Potsdam to enter the stage, then the Polish leftwing would have to say a firm "no."

Speaking about PPR religious policy, W. Loranc pointed out the new attitude toward religion and believers, which is no longer influenced by the church's attitude to the party and state. This is the result of the adopted principle whereby socialism is built and will be built also by believers, and that this will not be a weaker or worse socialism, but one which is different to the socialism that was imagined in the last century, and also different to the one that we imagined at the start of our road in the forties.

Background to Lomza Bus Strike Examined

PM0607075188 Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 25-26 Jun 88 pp 1, 3

[J. Brodziuk commentary: "Did It Have To Come to That?"]

[Text] On 15 June, just 4 days before the local elections and the day after the Seventh Central Committee Plenum, not a single bus belonging to the Lomza branch of State Domestic Motor Transport [KPKS] left the depot for the scheduled journeys. White and red banners appeared on the gates. This coincidence in timing might have suggested a broader context for the protest action by the drivers from the Lomza KPKS branch. In reality, the protest action was undertaken with only one aim: To force the management to engage in talks on the issue of the demands, made 6 weeks earlier, for wage increases for that particular group of the company's work force.

Rapid income increases and excessive pay raises constitute one of the chief reasons why the reform mechanisms go haywire. But, to quote General Jaruzelski's words, general truths do not have to be the same as the truths obtaining for individual people and in individual communities. The latter are closer to real life, more complex and more finely honed. Such a truth is represented by the strips of paper on which the drivers' pay is calculated: For the regulation number of hours worked (that is, 176) they earn around Z19,000 (per month); for 343 hours spent behind the steering wheel, around Z30,000. The figures printed on the payslips provided the main subject of conversation among the drivers. On 10 May their conclusions were put in the form of arguments in support of their case addressed to the board of management of the Lomza KPKS branch.

For a time no one spoke aloud of a strike, especially as the branch manager did not reject the drivers' demands and, after consulting the trade unions and the workers council, decided that it would be possible to meet them in part. This partial meeting of demands would have involved increasing the daily bus servicing bonus from Z20 to Z100 and introducing low tire wear bonuses and extra pay for overtime work. The so-called "cushioning"

allowance was included in employees' regular pay schedule, which consequently raised the level of regular bonuses. It was not within the branch management's competence to make decisions concerning the remaining demands, including an increase in the basic pay level and the introduction of 100-percent extra pay for work on statutory workfree days.

On 20 May the first talks with representatives of the Bialystok KPKS regional office took place. Although director Czeslaw Sawko did not endorse the drivers' demands, he promised to hold consultations on the subject with the employees. Unfortunately, he became ill, and by the time his deputies arrived to visit the Lomza branch, the drivers felt that neither their demands nor they themselves were being treated seriously. "We finally began to realize," said one of the drivers, "that we would only be taken seriously if a strike threat were to accompany our demands." Such a threat was eventually put into writing, but this only resulted in the drivers receiving a summons to the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office, where they were instructed on the regular statutory procedures for pursuing their demands.

On 1 June representatives of the enterprise trade union signed the drivers' list of demands and applied to the Voivodship Labor Tribunal for the appointment of a conciliation commission to arbitrate in the dispute. The letter of application contained a warning: If by 14 June the drivers' demands were not met, a strike would be proclaimed 15 June. Apart from Antoni Dudo, chairman of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union of the Employees of the Lomza KPKS Branch, 101 driver-conductors signed the letter. Copies were sent to a dozen or so institutions, including the Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications, the minister of labor and social policy, the National Trade Union Accord, and the board of directors of KPKS - Bialystok Region. Most of the eight demands on the list were similar to those voiced by the Federation of Independent Self-governing Trade Unions of Employees of State Motor Transport of the PPR in their talks with the KPKS General Board of Directors.

Two weeks later, the KPKS buses at Lomza, Kolno, and Grajewo remained stationary, their engines silent. In Lomza truck drivers joined the bus drivers in their strike. Central and northern parts of the voivodship were left without any public transport at all and it was only thanks to prompt mobilization of alternative mods of transport, such as coaches belonging to the ZKM [expansion unknown] and travel agencies, that no massive absences from work were observed throughout Lomza's enterprises and institutions and only three candidates failed to report for the secondary school entrance examinations which were held on that day.

Was the strike really inevitable? An analysis of the events leading up to it gives us a clear answer: It was not. Just a few days prior to it, voivodship authorities were assured that there was no threat of a strike; nevertheless, it was only at their insistence that the Voivodship Labor Tribunal at Bialystok set the date for the conciliation hearing as 17 June. At the same time, for more than a fortnight no person or persons representing the board of directors of KPKS - Bialystok Region took the trouble to talk to the drivers seriously and in concrete terms. The general board of directors of the KPKS company also minimized the importance of the situation. On 14 June the KPKS director general had to be pleaded with (!) to come and visit the Lomza branch of his own company. A note of hollow irony was inadvertently struck by one of the participants in subsequent talks with the workforce when he stated: "I knew of the strike threat, but I thought it was just a joke." The jovial attitude displayed by Stanislaw Dobraszkiewicz, KPKS director general, sounds another jarring note: "I always said anyone can come up to see me and have a chat."

It was difficult to perceive any goodwill or any genuine wish to settle the dispute in an amicable manner in the behavior of the KPKS director general or the deputy director of the Bialystok region, Zbigniew Lopianecki. During the talks they several times threatened to make use of the special powers to which they can have recourse in extraordinary conflict situations, and they only agreed to sit down to the talks after intervention from the voivodship authorities. Moreover, the official protocol of thefinal agreement was only eventually signed thanks to the mediatory skills of Edward Dabrowski, the deputy voivoda, who virtually forced the representatives of the KPKS board of directors to state their position in clear and concrete terms, after 6 hours of nothing but counterproductive verbal dueling.

The next day the workers council of the Lomza KPKS branch expressed their opinion unequivocally in their official comment attached to the protocol of the agreement: "Neither the work stoppages nor the financial losses suffered as their result would have occurred at all had the central and regional KPKS boards of directors given the matter serious and careful consideration at an earlier date, that is, before the end of May."

I very much fear they did not give the matter any "serious and careful consideration" at any later date either. It is true that director Dobraszkiewicz undertook to announce his final reply to workers' demands on 27 June, but this will only concern pay increases, whereas the real problem, as he himself said at a PZPR Voivodship Committee meeting, and as the drivers had demonstrated, consists in the fact that the entire network of the KPKS enterprises is blighted with financial chaos and incompetence, these in turn deriving from inefficient wage and subsidies systems. But that is not all. There is also a high degree of organizational disorder, to quote but two examples: incorrect distribution of spare parts and the practice of allocating the so-called high passenger turnout lines. Last year, for instance, the Lomza branch of the KPKS opened a new route between Grajewo and

Warsaw, after which the Bialystok regional headquarters approved the plan to open the Elk-warsaw line, following the same route, but scheduled to leave half an hour earlier.

The bus drivers' stoppage, which lasted more than 12 hours, resulted in losses amounting to more than Z3 million. If just the managers of the Lomza branch were to meet the drivers' demands, they would have to pay Z24 million in tax on wages above the normative limit. If all of the drivers' demands were to be met, the amount would be many times larger and the branch would have to face the threat of bankruptcy. How does one get out of this?

The drivers, who will be satisfied with having their base pay levels made equal with those applying at other KPKS branches, leave it to the management, declaring that they will contribute their effort to make up for the losses. It is true that since 16 June no cases were recorded in Lomza of buses missing their scheduled journeys because of a shortage of drivers. These days they even demand that their company bus hire scheme be extended to include hiring buses for wedding parties and tourist trips regardless of the day of the week.

But will that be sufficient? And will appropriate conclusions for the future be drawn from that wildcat strike? Today there are still no answers to these and other questions. Apart from one: After 8 years' experience, not everyone has yet learned how to settle disputes by discussing the best way to protect our common interest. And this does not only refer to the workers.

'Government Enemy' Dissident Kuron Interviewed

PM0807154188 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 2 Jul 88 p 4

[Interview with Jacek Kuron, founder of now-defunct Polish Social Self-Defense Committee (KSS-KOR), by Maciej Zaremba: "Perestroyka Is Our Chance"; date and place not given]

[Text] Maciej Zaremba: For 25 years Poland's party secretaries and police chiefs have pointed you out as government enemy No 1. You have spent 9 of these years in their prisons. Now when I look through what you have written and said during these years, however, I note with a certain amount of surprise that you have addressed yourself as much to those in power as to the opposition. As if you wanted to convince them of something?

Jacek Kuron: I have always talked to the powers that be. Since WW II the Poles have been fighting for democracy and for Poland's freedom, and they are doing so quite successfully nowadays; but they have to do so in a way that does not provoke a Soviet invasion. The responsibility for this... restraint is something which the opposition shares with the powers that be. That is why I talk to the authorities and address my warnings to them: Do not use force, do not close all the roads open to the movement—it is when all roads are closed that the despairing outburst comes.

I said exactly this in an interview on Swedish television in July 1980: Do not use force, otherwise party premises will burn, and then the Soviet tanks will come. And at that time they actually did not use force.

Zaremba: Today one can hear young Poles, who were not even born at the time you wrote "An Open Letter to the Polish Communist Party," accusing you of an exaggerated willingness to compromise or even of compliance. Has the movement been radicalized, or have you yourself become more conciliatory?

Kuron: Today Polish society is deeply frustrated, since all our hopes and endeavors have been blocked by the state or martial law for almost 7 years. There is an enormous gulf between what the Poles want and what those in power over them are prepared to give. In this situation many people have difficulty in seeing the value of the small steps toward increased democracy and pluralism which every little compromise represents, every new periodical published and every concession made, be it ever so insignificant, by the powers that be. My conviction—that the road to a free Poland runs through society's self-organization—is, however, shared by the majority of Solidarity.

We have come as far as we can within the framework of totalitarianism, we have even broken through it here and there. Everything has been said. Not least by those in power themselves, who since last fall have been repeating what Solidarity has had to say about necessary reforms.

I would like to stress that they really mean it. They actually realize that the state of martial law—that is, the attempt to reform Poland over our heads and without us—basically has failed. They know now, especially after this spring's strikes and the 70-percent boycott of the local elections, that they have to share some power with society. For that is the only way to break the compact distrust, that is, to be able to achieve anything at all.

They make basically sensible proposals for economic reforms—which no one pays any attention to, because everyone knows that it is only empty talk. The fact that these are not put into practice is because they meet with desperate resistance from the apparatus, that is, the hundreds of thousands of officials who are threatened by real reforms. And it is these officials who today are the only social base of the powers that be, to use a Marxist concept.

This is tragic. The majority of those in power are sensible enough to realize what has to be done—but they are torn between their reason and their group interests and are therefore incapable of taking any decisive steps. In

addition there is a psychological phenomenon: The present power group, which is the group which declared war on the Poles in 1981, lives in panic fear of its own people.

Jaruzelski said recently that he would rather blow his brains out than recognize Solidarity. He is not serious—a politician and head of government in a country which is literally falling to pieces does not talk like that. Probably he and his group will have to go if a compromise is to be possible.

Zaremba: How is the situation in Poland affected by the changes in the Soviet Union?

Kuron: Perestroyka is our historic chance. The limits of our freedom are always staked out by the Soviet tanks—and at present these are further away than ever. The situation was described very well by Politburo member and former Prime Minister Rakowski: Previously, he wrote in an internal party memorandum, we have always succeeded in stemming unrest in Poland by pointing out that it could be stemmed by our "friends." But what happens, Rakowski asked, if for some reason our friends no longer want to come here?

Zaremba: Should not the Polish Government's willingness to compromise increase when it can no longer count on wholehearted Soviet support?

Kuron: Indeed it does. I am convinced that a Polish party secretary attempting today to broaden the power base and break his colleagues' resistance would have the full support of the Soviet leadership as it appears today: divided, stratified, embroiled in its own tests of strength.

But it is a race against time. And if no one within the Polish power establishment is able to take such a step and the people are provoked by their wretchedness to force such a step in a wave of desperate strikes and demonstrations which no one will be able to control any longer, then... then I am sure that today's Soviet leadership would be fully capable of allowing the tanks to roll into Poland.

Time is short, for the Soviet empire, a colonial creation from the last century, is disintegrating rapidly. And if a rebellion were to break out among the Ukraine's 50 million inhabitants, the Russians could choose to strangle it by invading us, in the same way as the invasion of Hungary broke the Polish revolt in 1956.

Zaremba: In the West people are clearly concerned that Gorbachev will lose control of his perestroyka and that the centrifugal forces within the empire will carry a neo-Stalinist to power.

Kuron: I can understand the concern—it is justified. But I cannot understand the well-educated intellectuals in the West who believe that Gorbachev controls his perestroyka or even that such control is even theoretically possible. He lost his grip long ago, in reality at the moment when he began to invoke public opinion.

What is happening now is no longer dependent on what he wants or believes, but on the relative strengths of the four great social forces which perestroyka set in motion. As well as Gorbachev himself and his supporters among the most enlightened enterprise heads and sections of the party and army, there are of course the opponents of perestroyka, the nomenklatura.

Really, Gorbachev's group has been unwilling to abolish the nomenklatura, and has wanted instead to replace drunkards with the sober, ignoramuses with experts, thieves with people who are relatively honest, and so on. But everyone within the apparatus naturally sees this as an attack on the nomenklatura's position of power, and they are offering vehement resistance which—take note—is also destabilizing the system, since the nomenklatura is forced to produce its own reform proposals in self-defense.

The apparatus' resistance to reforms has provoked a radicalization of the supporters of perestroyka and given rise to the third force: radical youth and the intellectuals. And then there is the fourth—enormous—force, the national liberation movements, for which in Estonia there seems to be room within the framework of perestroyka—but not in Armenia any longer—where the self-organization of civilian society has made most progress and is actually beginning to resemble Solidarity.

These forces are in conflict with each other in a complicated pattern which is difficult to take in and impossible to control. And soon we will be seeing a fifth force, probably in the Russian republics first—the workers who will start demanding their rights.

Under actual socialism the workers live in a paradoxical situation: Economically, socially, and politically they find themselves at the bottom of society, at the same time as they are told that it is they who rule the country and shape ideology. In Estonia and Armenia—where the national question is dominant—their humiliation has become one with that of the people and is not perhaps expressed as clearly as in Russia, which dominates the other peoples.

It is not even certain that the workers will support Gorbachev—the employees in heavy industry, which is threatened with reforms, could have good reason to fear perestroyka.

Gorbachev cannot control any of this—he can only react to it—more or less successfully. Up to now I have admired his reason and political courage. For example, he has given way in Kazakhstan instead of ordering in the tanks.

Zaremba: There is a psychological mechanism in the West and perhaps also in Eastern Europe which today means that people are inclined to refrain from protest

against, let us say, arrests in the Soviet Union—with the praiseworthy aim of not making Gorbachev's and the reform movement's precarious situation more difficult.

Kuron: Such a psychological mechanism is based on a misunderstanding. Gorbachev's situation is now such that if you do not put pressure on him to work for greater democracy and pluralism, you make it impossible for him to act at all. If you do not realize that he can only democratize under social pressure, then you believe perhaps, as did the Russian peasants, in the benevolent tsar.

Zaremba: In an essay in the seventies you described the moral torment your political influence causes you. Educating young people in totalitarian Poland in the love of freedom, you wrote, is preparing one's children for the fire, like Abraham—indeed, setting the innocent on the road of misfortune.

Kuron: Earlier in that essay I had condemned Abraham's actions. And when in 1968 I was put in a prison that was full of young people I had the unpleasant feeling that I had driven them there myself. And for once in my life I gave in to the authorities: When my wife and children had been mistreated I canceled my lectures at the flying university. Once I realized that I wanted to spare my son, I had no right to expose the children of others.

At that time I understood the tragic element in my, in our, situation: That the dilemma is impossible to resolve and that we do evil when—with the purest of hearts—we work for good. Since then I have always reached the same decision as Abraham, although without his certainty and, consequently, much more cautiously.

Even if the good is preceded by pangs of conscience and is done in the name of the love of humanity, it remains an evil. Therefore the only thing that remains is the utopia for which I am working: a social order where you neither need to sacrifice your children and young people to your values or are forced out of love of your children to deny what you believe in.

Morawiecki London Speech Denounced

PM2806143188 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 20 Jun 88 p 2

[Unattributed account of and commentary on Kornel Morawiecki's London address delivered 6 June to the National Council of the Polish Republic (in London-based exile): "What Kornel Morawiecki Collects for and What He Sells"; date not given]

[Text] Kornel Morawiecki has delivered the following address before the National Council of the Polish Republic in London.

"I am at liberty to speak to the National Council of the Polish Republic, which constitutes here, in exile, a symbol of the parliament of an independent Poland. It is for me an honor, a joy, and a responsibility. I hail from 'Fighting Solidarity,' and therefore I shall refrain from addressing empty niceties to all of you gathered here, the more so as I treat your work and your service very seriously indeed.

"I am going to put one demand to you, ask several tough questions of you, and confront you with some hard judgments. Please accept those as an expression of concern on the part of the organization I represent, and also as an unauthorized voice of the wider, independence-seeking circles in our country. We want you, the community of political exiles, to do perceivably more. Let me clarify that. Do you, ladies and gentlemen, perceive the following problem clearly enough? The so-called opposition in Poland embraces a variety of trends which differ significantly from one another as regards their aims, methods, and tactics. There are the elements which favor accord with the Communists, on the assumption of mutual concessions. There are the 'positivists,' whose aim is to preserve the fabric of the nation, inclusive of the system. There are those who are legalists in their interpretation of the legislature of the Polish People's Republic. There are the union activists whose motto is: 'Yes to Socialism; No to Its Distortions.' There are the gamblers who put their money on the progressive factions in the power apparatus; and so on.

"But there are also others: all of us who make up the underground structures of the opposition. I sincerely hope I am mistaken in the impression that the emigre circles—you, that is, ladies and gentlemen—at times fail to perceive the existence of that fundamental dividing line. Are not some of you trying to blur its outline? Are they, perhaps, uncertain which side to stand on? In this way we are only losing all our trump cards in the game against the regime. I would like to see the National Council offering us effective assistance in building up political, anticommunist forces in Poland. I am not thinking exclusively of 'Fighting Solidarity' here, although we do deserve greater magnanimity on your part. Let me ask you a straightforward question: 'Can the new Help Poland Appeal Fund, announced in DZIENNIK POLSKI [London-based emigre daily] and totaling 12,000 pounds sterling per annum, represent a realistic chance of assistance to any nationwide political group?' It is not sufficient even for any significant subsidies for individual persons or publications. I am aware that there are some who do not collect even that, who give nothing at all. I know: You simply do not have any more. But surely you are feeling responsible for what is happening in Poland and what can yet happen? Surely you want to participate in real terms in the concentration of social forces which are to release the nation from communism? Are you, then, trying enough? Are you placing the emphasis on the right concerns? How much more substantial, for example, is the assistance to various charity concerns directed by many circles in your community. It is necessary, and sometimes essential, to save someone's health or life. But Poland will not be saved by alms donated out of charity. It is obvious that it is much easier to collect donations for the poor than to fight the reasons behind the poverty. It is easier to appeal to the heart than

to the mind. But have you, ladies and gentlemen, explained to the English that there is no shortage of ways and means in Poland? Have you been telling them that the Polish people are not lacking in industriousness or intelligence, and that every single pound donated for the fight against communism is just as valuable—if not more—as a pound allocated for powdered milk for sick children? Besides, the humanitarian generosity of emigre communities in the democratic states often makes it easier for the authorities in the PPR to transfer resources from the consumer sector to state service sector or to allocate them for the arms industry. Political institutions in exile should concentrate on extending moral, ideological, and material assistance to political movements in Poland. They should be persuading their emigre communities and the West that there is a pressing need for such assistance. Last summer Solidarity allocated to the health service the 1 million dollars received from the U.S. Congress. Why have we in Poland not heard any protests from you, or at least some reservations about that decision? Please understand me: I am not interested in reproaching you pointlessly. I see the hard work you have been doing, along with your whole generation, I see your continuing youthful involvement—defying the passage of time—in doing things for Poland. It is precisely because of this that I ventured to make these remarks before you. I should like to be able to say one day, along with all of you, that we have done everything we could, the best way we could, for the creation of a free, democratic Poland."

The case is, as a matter of fact, quite banal. It often happens in life that when the last veil has been torn away, the spectacular array of subtle colors turns into cheap kitsch painted in heavy oils; intentions that are allegedly pure turn out to be just a part of a cynical game; fine and exalted words prove to be a smokescreen for vulgar greed and self-interest so enormous as to be almost unbelievable.

For what does Kornel Morawiecki, a self-styled activist of "Fighting Solidarity," want from the community of Polish political exiles? Certainly not encouragement, moral support, or a confirmation of the validity of the set goals and the ways and means of reaching those. He demands money—brutally and without beating about the bush. All the money that can be collected in foreign lands for the greatest treasure which exists for the majority of our compatriots scattered about the world: For Poland.

But, as he rightly notes, that money cannot be sufficient for everybody and for all purposes. Therefore K. Morawiecki is prepared to withdraw it not only from those among his dissenting colleagues who have managed to preserve a modicum of reason and common sense, but even from bank deposits earmarked for the purchase of powdered milk for sick children and for charitable assistance for the most needy. "Poland will not be saved by alms donated out of charity," he says.

Will warfare, perhaps even warfare with bloodshed, save it? A conflict where brothers fight against brothers? It must be truly enormous hatred and great political blindness that can dictate such proposals, given the situation in Poland and Poland's position in the world.

One can understand K. Morawiecki's tragedy: He is feeling cornered because the opposition is divided, because he is losing the ground under his feet, because he is embroiled in internal conflicts, and because fewer and fewer people listen to him. He holds a grudge against the council for attempting to ignore those divisions among the opposition, or even glossing over them. But what are his expectations?

That he will gain the approval of all those diverse factions within the so-called opposition—as he himself terms it?

That anyone in Poland, regardless of the position he holds, the faith he professes, and the degree of his political involvement, will accept it as morally unquestionable that every pound donated for the fight against communism is as valuable, if not more, as a pound donated to help sick children? Especially when he is told that the whole amount collected in the appeal fund, intended to be used for charitable purposes, would not be sufficient even for any significant subsidies for individual persons or publications.

That he will find understanding and approval on the part of the church which has involved itself in the distribution and organization of the help made possible by those charitable funds—or on the part of other groups and persons who have offered their assistance in that task?

It is no exaggeration to say that the content of Kornel Morawiecki's address in London and the way in which he presented his arguments before the council (a body belonging to an ancient era) are of a grotesque nature. Let us consider this: In Poland itself, new concepts of an anticrisis pact are being evolved and voiced in progressively louder tones. Proposals to seek common denominators for a national agreement that would be acceptable to the widest circles of our society are coming in from many directions. Even within those circles which are not particularly well disposed toward the existing system voices are now to be heard calling for an end to all animosities because the interest of the country and the future of the fatherland must now take precedence over everything else. From the official rostrums one hears declarations of readiness to discuss the reform with its critics, provided that the latter want to act for the good of the country and are not in foreign pay.

And it is at that precise moment that Mr. K. Morawiecki comes forward with his unreservedly destructive program and shamelessly announces: I am at your service, but you have to pay for it. This is embarrassing candor indeed.

Iran's Acceptance of UN Resolution 598 Welcomed
AU1907174888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1631 GMT 19 Jul 88

["Statement by the Romanian News Agency AGERPRES on Iran's Acceptance to Observe the Security Council's Resolution 598"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] The Romanian News Agency AGERPRES is empowered to state:

The Romanian Government and public opinion in Romania have learned with satisfaction that the Islamic Republic of Iran accepted to observe the UN Security Council's Resolution 598 of 20 July 1987 on the cessation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. The Romanian people welcomes this decision apt to provide prerequisites for a peaceful, just and comprehensive settlement of all the aspects of the conflict, thus eliminating a dangerous hotbed, a threat to peace and security in the region and the world.

The Romanian people expresses its belief that, in keeping with the Resolution 598—accepted by Iraq, too, in September 1987—an end will be put without delay to the war between Iran and Iraq which caused great suffering as well as considerable casualties and damage to both peoples, and a passage will immediately be made to peaceful negotiations with a view to solving the issues between the two countries.

Romania—which has consistently declared for the renunciation of force, for a peaceful solution to the issues in the Gulf—appreciates the positive character of the Iranian Government's decision, and considers that all efforts should be made for the soonest possible cessation of military actions and the political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict as it is in the great interest of the two peoples, of stability, security and peace in the region and throughout the world.

SCINTEIA Commentary
AU2007101388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 20 Jul 88

["An Important Positive Act"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2/7/1988—The acceptance by the Islamic Republic of Iran of the Resolution No. 598 of the UN Security Council which provides for the immediate cessation of military hostilities in the Gulf area and the peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict by negotiations is welcomed by the Romanian press as an important positive act for ending the Iran-Iraq conflict. SCINTEIA shows in its commentary:

Public opinion in Romania hopes that in these conditions the war between the two countries will end as soon as possible and the differences and issues in the Iranian-Iraqi relations will be solved peacefully. This would pave the path for the establishment of a durable peace in this heavily tried region, of relations of good neighbourliness between Iran and Iraq to put their material and human resources to the use of socioeconomic development, to attain the two peoples' aspirations at progress, in their own interests and in the interests of the cause of international peace and understanding.

SCINTEIA shows that Romania was for halting the hostilities since the beginning. Throughout this period, President Nicolae Ceausescu has worked firmly for negotiations to solve peacefully the differences between the two countries. He repeatedly expressed concern over the continuation of the war and showed: "We are for the immediate cessation of military hostilities—which brought so much damage and suffering to both peoples—and for a resolute passage to negotiations, so as to peacefully solve the issues between the two countries." This principled and constructive position has been consistently sustained by Romania and put in the major party and state documents on the country's foreign policy, expressed during meetings with the representatives of the two states at war, summit meetings and talks with other states, at the UN and other international organizations.

Romania has backed this position and appreciated the importance of the Resolution No. 598 of the Security Council, now accepted by both states, starting from the fact that the Iran-Iraq conflict caused immense suffering to both peoples. Estimates show that more than one million died in the war and the damages amounted to over 160 billion dollars, affecting seriously the socioeconomic progress of these developing countries.

At the same time, the conflict had most serious consequences on the political climate of the region and the world over. One of the bloodiest and longest conflicts in the postwar period, the Iran-Iraq war generated a high tension in the Gulf area: dangers posed to other states, disturbance of the normal flow of trade relations in the region, of peaceful sea and air transport, with large repercussions internationally. During the military operations, numerous ships of non-belligerent states were destroyed and their citizens fell victims. The conflict has been used by militarist circles of other states for intervention, sending of military forces and other such actions which heightened tension. The evolution and continual escalation of the Iran - Iraq war posed serious risks to and deeply involved to the cause of peace the world over.

So one can say with justified reason that the cessation of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict and the settlement of the problems between these countries would have a special international importance and would strongly influence over the political climate in that region and throughout the world. It is why, as international news agencies show,

the latest developments opening prospects to the settlement of the conflict in the Gulf are welcomed with deep satisfaction by the world public opinion, by realistic political factors the world over.

As for Romania, hailing with satisfaction Iran's decision to observe the Resolution No. 598 of the Security Council, expresses the confidence that an immediate passage will be made to the translation into life of the provisions of this resolution, by ensuring the immediate cessation of military hostilities and working for the soonest starting of negotiations. Romania firmly believes that there is no litigious issue which cannot be solved politically, by negotiations, while the use of arms, far from solving disputes, can only aggravate them.

As a peace-loving people, sincere friend of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, the Romanian people hopes that by giving up the path of force and war, the necessary constructive spirit will be shown to make the common and fundamental interests of peace, good neighbourliness and cooperation prevail, so as to set up a durable peace in that region, which would bear most favourably on the international political climate and the cause of detente and understanding all over the world.

Ceausescu Greets Husayn on Iraq's National Day

AU1907115688 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Jul 88 p 5

[Cable sent by Nicolae Ceausescu to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn on Iraq's national day]

[Text] To Mr Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq, Baghdad

On the national holiday of Iraq, I take pleasure in extending warmest congratulations to you on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, as well as great wishes for good health and personal happiness, together with wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly Iraqi people.

I am sure that the existing relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will develop continuously, in the interest of the Romanian and Iraqi peoples and the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

European Cooperation on Environment Called For

AU1907115988 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed editorial article: "The Consequences of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security"]

[Text] It is with profound concern that the Warsaw Pact countries note the constant deterioration of the environment. The deterioration of the natural balance has reached proportions which may have unforeseeable consequences able to undermine the material base of mankind's socioeconomic development and to endanger its very existence.

Deeply convinced that one of the most dangerous sources for the deterioration of the environment is the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, the Warsaw Pact countries believe that solving the environmental problems is closely linked to strengthening peace, international security, and disarmament.

The main direction of the struggle to protect the environment has been and will be the prevention of a nuclear war, the inevitable consequences of which would be a total ecological catastrophe. Any kind of armed conflict causes great damage to the environment. The arms race constantly and increasingly destroys the environment, it is at variance with efforts to protect nature, and it hampers the fulfillment of the noble task to create a harmonious balance between society, technology, and nature on earth.

The production, storing, and transportation of the various types of weapons, the construction of military projects, and military activities exert a direct negative influence on the environment.

The Warsaw Pact states draw attention especially to the danger posed for the environment and life itself on our planet by the stockpiles of nuclear weapons with their inherent danger for mankind if used deliberately, erroneously, or accidentally. The continuation of nuclear testing, the large stocks of chemical weapons, and the constant production of toxic substances, as well as the manufacture of weapons systems based on new principles may have unforeseeable consequences and may be greatly harmful to the environment. The extension of the arms race into outer space would compromise the possibility of rationally using outer space for peaceful purposes. Wasting unrenewable resources for military purposes has serious consequences for nature on earth. Attempts at using the environment for military or other hostile purposes would also have serious ecological consequences.

Welcoming certain favorable tendencies in international relations recently, the Warsaw Pact countries believe that halting the arms race and adopting effective disarmament measures would contribute to strengthening peace and security—a decisive condition for developing international cooperation in the most varied areas, including preserving and improving the quality of our environment. The implementation of their initiatives—presented individually or jointly—in the area of disarmament and of measures for strengthening trust and security would serve the same purpose.

It is necessary that the progress that is becoming apparent in the area of disarmament be used to intensify efforts for the protection of the environment. Any step in

the area of disarmament must be followed by specific measures for the protection of nature. Disarmament would make huge financial, natural, and human resources available, which could be used for improving the environmental situation at the regional level or globally.

The deterioration of the situation of our environment as a result of man's peaceful activity causes constantly greater concern. The economic activity that is carried out without considering environmental factors causes the pollution of oceans, the atmosphere, the transfer of polluted substances beyond borders, the degradation of the soil, the creation of deserts, deforestation, modifications in the weather conditions, the disappearance of whole biological species, the accumulation of harmful substances in the biosphere, and many other negative phenomena in nature, which cause the deterioration of man's environment.

The continued threat of a nuclear catastrophe, the more and more frequent environmental calamities, and the destruction of the balance in nature testify to the increased interdependence of all states from an environmental viewpoint. Life itself imperatively demands that the world community join efforts to effectively solve environmental problems.

To overcome this situation, it is necessary to formulate and constantly implement a concept on world ecological security on the basis of the most broad and open international cooperation. International ecological security—which is called upon to contribute to the stable development of all states under conditions of security and to the creation of favorable living conditions for each people and each man—presupposes the existence of international relations such as would insure the preservation, rational utilization, reproduction, and improvement of the quality of the environment.

For this purpose, the Warsaw Pact countries advocate the creative use and development of everything that has been achieved by the international community in the area of environmental protection. They greatly value the activity of the United Nations and especially of its specialized body—the UN program for the environment, as well as the activity carried out by the international commission for the environment and development which proposed that environmental problems should not be examined in an isolated way but linked to the problems of war, peace, disarmament, development, elimination of backwardness and poverty, and ensuring a dignified and healthy life on earth in complete security.

The achievement of international environmental security requires the adoption of principles and compulsory norms for states' conduct, as well as the definition of the main directions for international cooperation in the ecological area. These principles, norms, and guidelines must be jointly formulated on the basis of an extensive and constructive international dialogue. An appropriate international legal document could be adopted in 1992 on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the UN conference on environment. The Warsaw Pact states are ready to move immediately to formulating the draft for such a document.

As European countries, which strongly feel the consequences of certain activities harming the environment, the Warsaw Pact states believe that it is of vital importance to adopt urgent measures that would turn the European continent into an example of cooperation in the ecological area. The concern with ensuring an ecological balance, people's health, fresh air, and clear water would become the common problem of all European countries and would hold an appropriate place within the all-European process. This would correspond to a greater extent to the idea of a united Europe of peace and cooperation and of an all-European home. In this context, the Warsaw Pact states believe that their proposals, which aim at ensuring the protection of the environment in Europe and in its various regions, preserve their complete topicality. They advocate a broad exchange of information about ecological problems, the mutual granting of unlimited access to the most advanced technologies ensuring the protection of the natural environment, and the establishment of a strict system of information by states about their activity of protecting nature and about ecological accidents that happened on their territories or had been prevented. To ensure a more dynamic development and intensify cooperation in the ecological area, the organization of an all-European meeting of ministers in charge of environmental protection has been proposed as has the formulation—within this framework—of a program of joint action.

The Warsaw Pact states declare that they are ready to contribute actively to the settlement of the most pressing ecological problems and to protecting the environment from the threat of war and the consequences of the arms race. They insistently call on all states and peoples in the world to rally their efforts in order to protect and improve the environment in the interest of guaranteeing our present and future. Humanity, which has a tremendous creative and constructive potential available, is able to halt the deterioration process of the environment. Bilateral and multilateral international cooperation in the area of protecting nature—the source and preserver of life—is a duty of all states for present and future generations.

Ceausescu, Wife Visit Giurgiu Chemical Combine

AU1907141888 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today paid a working visit to Giurgiu Municipality, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

This visit is a new expression of the constant dialogue conducted by our party and state leader with the working people throughout the country.

Arriving in Giurgiu Municipality, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were welcomed with great warmth by thousands of residents of the county, and by Comrade Ion Popescu, first secretary of the county party committee.

A guard of honor, that was lined up on the platform where the helicopter landed, presented arms. The national anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played. Young people offered flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

Thousands of working people warmly welcomed the high-ranking guests expressing satisfaction with this working visit today, on the 23d anniversary of the opening of the proceedings of the 9th RCP Congress that opened up the years of glorious achievements and great prosperity of our socialist homeland—a period that will always bear the name of its excellent founder: The Nicolae Ceausescu Era.

After their arrival, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu visited the chemical combine in Giurgiu where thousands of working people enthusiastically welcomed the party and state leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

At platform two of the combine, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were briefed—on the basis of plans and blueprints—about the current development stage of that platform and about measures taken to fulfill planned parameters in the capacities under operation as soon as possible.

The visit then continued at platform three where new investment projects are under way. Here, too, they were briefed about the progress of construction work and about the measures that have been taken to put the new capacities into operation in the shortest time possible.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, then met with the bureau of the county party committee and continued examining matters pertaining to the economic and urban development of Giurgiu Municipality.

Addressing those present on departure, the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, noted that the activity of Giurgiu Municipality and County in industry and agriculture aimed at fulfilling the plan provisions, as well as the activity in the other sectors is good. On the other hand, the conclusion was drawn that activity is slow in the area of construction and systematization. In this sense, it was decided that the modernization and reorgnization of Giurgiu Municipality should be completed in 3-4 years, so that it will turn into a modern Romanian city on the Danube, ensuring increasingly better working and living conditions for all its residents.

The party secretary general also emphasized that the county must apply more firmly the program to modernize and develop the agroindustrial centers.

At the end of the visit, Comrade Nicolae wished the residents of Giurgiu Municipality and County fresh successes and much good health and happiness.

Those present pledged to work with greater determination to implement the socioeconomic development plans and programs.

At their departure, as well as on arrival, the working people along the route that was traveled enthusiastically welcomed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, thus expressing their love and appreciation. They expressed the firm determination of the working people in this large industrial unit, and in Giurgiu Municipality and County to implement the recommendations made during today's visit, to increase their contribution to the fulfillment of this year's plan and of the overall 5-year plan, and their contribution to implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the RCP National Conference.

More on Visit

AU1907194688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1823 GMT 19 Jul 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Giurgiu County"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/07/1988—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Mme Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to Giurgiu County (south of the country) Tuesday, 19 July.

Taking place just when 23 years have passed since the Ninth RCP Congress which ushered in the period of greatest accomplishments in the country's history, the visit cast light on the deepgoing changes wrought in Giurgiu County in this interval. Now the county has a high economic potential providing ever better conditions to all its inhabitants. Following the investments made every year, new units were put on stream, which made the county's industrial output grow fivefold from 1965 and its farm production more than threefold. The county's economic development brought about big changes in the social sphere as well.

In the town of Giurgiu, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu visited the chemical combine, one of its main enterprises.

The dialogue the party general secretary conducted with decision makers in the Ministry of Chemical and Petrochemical Industry, with representatives of the relevant central industrial department and experts of the unit focused on the way in which action is taken to carry through the investment programme, to attain the planned parameters with the production units commissioned and fulfil the plan tasks for this year and the current five-year period.

It was stressed that the large investment volume and more particularly the special importance of the new constructions for the national economy conferred on this new industrial district the attributes of a chemical unit unique of the kind in Romania.

The whole range of vulcanites, dyes and other chemical products of fine synthesis and small tonnage are to be turned out there, having a high economic value apt to ensure the development and modernization of other branches of the Romanian industry.

By achieving the planned capacity, the new unit will meet the internal demands of like products, providing also availabilities for export.

During the visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu made several recommendations for a good organization of production and work, the strengthening of order and discipline both in the chemical combine and on the investment site. Special emphasis was placed on the need that everything achieved there be in full accordance with the RCP policy and the laws of the country regarding the permanent protection and improvement of the quality of the environment so that people should have ever better living and working conditions and the comfort of a modern civilization.

At the end of the visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu met with the members of the Giurgiu County RCP Committee Bureau.

During the meeting the analysis started at the chemical combine continued, specific ways and means being set for the appropriate fulfilment of the major tasks devolving on Giurgiu County from the plan for 1988 and this five-year period just as from the documents of the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the RCP.

During the meeting reference was made to the results obtained in industry, agriculture, social construction and public works since the beginning of this year. Moreover, mention was made, in a critical and self-critical manner, of the shortfalls manifested as well as of the measures taken to remove them.

A survey was also made of the way in which physical planning and the urbanization of some localities in the county are carried into effect.

Addressing the attendance President Nicolae Ceausescu was appreciative of the achievements scored by the working people in Giurgiu County, and showed that further responsible action should be taken for a rhythmical, integral fulfilment of the plan tasks in industry and agriculture for this year and the current five-year period. Referring to the county's physical planning, he stated that more should be done along that line, and requested the managerial staff in the county to start immediate work on the elaboration of new designs by strictly observing the legal provisions when marking the limits of towns and rural settlements, more consistently applying the programmes for the organization of the territory and locality planning, and for the narrowing of built-up areas. He also asked that the physical planning and modernization of Giurgiu Municipality should end in the ensuing three-to-four years, the housing construction rate rise so as to make it look like a modern flourishing city.

At the same time it was shown that priority should be given to the future agroindustrial centres in the county which should have all facilities. In accordance with the aims of the Romanian party and state policy regarding the future agroindustrial centres' higher economic potential and the blossoming of all the country's settlements, industrial units, more particularly units of the small industry will operate there and learning, cultural and health units will also be built. Beside general and vocational schools, there will also be "Song to Romania" culture and creation centres. Each agroindustrial centre will benefit from hospitals, maternities as well as other units—public bath, bakery, market, sports complex and other social establishments.

President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his belief that the county committee bureau, the county party organization, the Communists, all the working people will take firm action for an ever better organization of work and ever greater achievements in all spheres of activity.

The county party committee bureau assured that the county party organization and the inhabitants of the county would do their utmost to fulfil their tasks and translate into fact the indications received during the visit so that Giurgiu County should make a growing contribution to the country's general development.

Further Reportage on Jansa Trial in Ljubljana

Demonstrations Organized Against Trial

AU1907150088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 88 p 12

[S. Gajevic report: "Protests in Ljubljana"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Jul—An all-night vigil with prayers for the accused, led by Alojz Sustar, archbishop of Ljubljana, is to be held at 2100 this evening in the Franciscan church in the center of Ljubljana. This is merely one of the demonstrations organized in Ljubljana today on the eve of the start of the trial of Janez Jansa, Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, and Franc Zavrl for revealing military secrets.

A kind of demonstration walk took place today in front of the military prison on Metelhova Street, organized by women members of the Human Rights Protection Committee. In the afternoon, this committee will organize an open session, while the Association of Slovenian Writers will organize a fresh protest meeting at the Ljubljana PEN Club this evening. Josip Vidmar will speak at this meeting. Radio Student also broadcast interviews on the streets of Ljubljana saying that tomorrow's proceedings were considered a show trial and a return to the time of the Dachau trials, and saying that the Yugoslav People's Army is mounting this trial against democratic trends in Slovenia. The radio also broadcast a statement against the trial yesterday, which, it was said, was signed by a number of Slovenian veterans of 1941.

Further Report on Protests

LD1907142788 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] The trial of Sergeant Major Ivan Borstner, feature writer Janez Jansa, and MLADINA journalists David Tasi and Franci Zvarl continued today in Ljubljana before the senate of the Military Court. The Supreme Military Council rejected the demand made yesterday by the fourth defendant, Franc Zavrl, for the disqualification of the president of the senate of the Ljubljana Military Court, Colonel Djuro Vlaisavljevic. The trial has been continued again, in camera.

At the behest of Radio Student, drivers expressed their protest against the trial by blowing their car horns while passing by the Military Court, disturbing the course of the trial. This is why Ljubljana traffic police closed the street to drivers. Afterward, about 300 citizens gathered in front of the court building and disrupted the trial by whistling and singing songs.

Second Day of Trial Concludes

AU1907151588 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] The second day of the trial of Jansa, Borstner, Tasic, and Zavrl, who is free during the trial, concluded in the Military Court in Ljubljana this afternoon. Milan Trobic interviewed Franci Zavrl as he came out of the court building:

[Begin recording] [Trobic] I am interviewing Comrade Franci Zavrl, one of the participants in this trial. The trial started yesterday. How was it today?

[Zavrl] It was awful today. I have had nothing to eat and I am very tired. I was not allowed to have many points entered on the record, although I protested. The judge then said that the procedings of the court will henceforth be in Serbo-Croatian, and I protested again.

I demanded that the rule on the exclusion of a civilian attorney be submitted to me in writing, because an oral ruling is not valid and because this is a special ruling to which a special appeal is possible; but my demand was not met. Also, I was not presented a written ruling on my demand that the president of the bench be disqualified, although the first thing this morning, he read that my demand had been overruled, presenting an explanation that appeared to me empty and devoid of sense.

This thing will continue tomorrow morning at 0730. I have not been interrogated yet. However, I feel that this will be a big legal fiasco.

[Trobic] What are your feelings about the other accused? How do they look to you, and how do they feel?

(Zavrl] Perhaps somebody wants to make us quarrel or something of the kind, but Janez [Jansa] seems to be all right, he is thinking clearly. David [Tasic] seems to be in a somewhat worse condition. I don't know, the feeling among us is just like that—we are all in the dock. [end recording]

Slovene Assembly Presidium Report

AU1907165288 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] At the beginning of its session today, the Slovene Assembly Presidium drafted a report on the implementation of this assembly's stances connected with the proceedings against Borstner, Jansa, and Tasic.

The draft notes among other things that after the assembly adopted these stances at the sessions of the chambers on 22 and 23 June, the release of announcements was faster, such as the publication of the indictment, announcements on Jansa's health, an announcement that his personal physician checked him, and the like.

The ruling by the Military Court bench allowing the relatives of the accused to attend the trial also means that the public has not been fully excluded from the trial.

In its report prepared for the assembly session tomorrow, the Presidium also notes that respective organs did not take into consideration the major part of the assembly's stances. The Assembly of Slovenia does not wish to, must not, and does not want to assess whether the conduct of the respective organs is illegal or legal. Only legal experts and theoreticians may adopt such an assessment without influencing the proceedings; such an assessment would nevertheless be of great significance for a public assessment of the legitimacy of this procedure.

The draft report also says that it would be useful if such an assessment were adopted after the proceedings are finished. It is a fact that the view of the assembly, of the public, and of the Presidency of Slovenia as well, that a group of experts should be allowed to attend the trial has not been accepted, and this causes concern. Their participation would surely help eliminate doubts about the legality and correctness of the proceedings, and at the same time would strengthen (?the faith and) trust in the work of military juridical organs and their independence and autonomy.

We must stress this, it is said, because of the exaggerated and one-sided assessments of this assembly's involvement. We must also stress this because we have joint responsibility for creating objective foundations for public opinion on this specific case.

The draft report for the session of the chambers tomorrow also notes that the assembly, within its rights and duties, has done everything for the implementation of the assembly conclusions and stances adopted. It further says that the Slovene Assembly is the highest organ of authority and of social self-management in Slovenia. Slovenia and its assembly realize that the Slovene people have sovereign rights independently and together with the delegates of other assemblies in the SFRY Assembly and other federal organs.

According to the Constitution, the SFRY Presidency is a joint organ of the republics and provinces, and the Slovene Assembly elects its member to it. The organ is responsible to the assembly for its acts. With its conduct and decisions, the Slovene Assembly has never renounced any of the sovereign rights of the Slovene people.

The draft report further says that the 1974 Constitution has strengthened the position of our republic and therefore we reject the proposals in the present constitutional discussions that would mean an unsuitable increase in powers of the federal organs.

Another part of the report that is significant refers to the proceedings conducted before courts in Slovenia. The assembly does not (?possess the power) to assess individual rulings. Any such power would be contrary to the principle of independence and autonomy of juridical organs. This also applies to the Military Court.

To protect the rights of parties in court proceedings, appeals to and rulings by higher court instances are envisaged. The Federal Court has the right of review as regards the military courts. The demands that the Slovene Assembly should take part in the present court proceedings therefore mean not only pressure on courts but also pressure for unconstitutional working of the assembly. Because of such demands, the Human Rights Protection Committee works against its declared positions. The assembly will have to assess whether this procedure has led to a political situation that requires a special discussion and decision by the assembly.

Within this framework [words indistinct] the SFRY Presidency that controls the work of military courts [passage indistinct].

Slovene SAWP Body on Controversy

LD1907192988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference today expressed regret and dissatisfaction with the fact that the military judicial organs did not take into consideration any of the initiatives and proposals by the Executive Committee and Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican conference and other organs in the SR of Slovenia in connection with the trial of Borstner, Jansa, Tasic, and Zavrl, and which refer to the open trial, the right of the accused to defend themselves from freedom, and their right to choose their own defense.

"In particular we are surprised by the fact that the Senate of the Ljubljana District Military Court also rejected the demand that a group of experts from the Ljubljana Law Faculty be allowed to follow the proceedings," Joze Smole, president of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, said. At the same time, he sharply criticized today's attempts to disturb the court's work by blowing car horns in front of the court. He also criticized the call by the defense committee for the accused for a minute of silence in protest against the trial at all public gatherings in Slovenia. Joze Smole said that it should be remembered that the military court was autonomous. Smole added that yesterday's decision of the judicial senate to hold the process in camera should not be allowed to give rise to doubts in military judicial organs in general and the Yugoslav People's Army. Smole asks: Who gave the committee the right to state that the Slovene people are losing their sovereignty and that there is no reason to celebrate the Day of Uprising of the Slovene People on 22 July?

At the same time, Joze Smole stressed that with its decision to hold the process in camera, the judicial Senate has caused great harm to judicial organs and to the Army, though it could not be claimed that this decision was illegal and illegitimate. The Senate has chosen the strictest legal possibilities rejecting even the completely well-intentioned proposal regarding the presence of three legal experts from the Ljubljana Law Faculty, whose presence would, in many ways, help strengthen public confidence in military judicial organs and the regularity of the trial. Smole and several participants in the discussion were also surprised by the decision of the court council that the official language of the proceedings should be Serbo-Croatian and not Slovene. [passage omitted]

Most of the Presidium members endorsed the stands of Smole and voted against Milet Setinc's proposal that the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference endorse the demand by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights for a 1-minute silence at all public gatherings in Slovenia.

At the same time, the Presidium endorsed the conclusions of the Executive Committee of the SAWP Republican Conference Presidium in connection with the trial and a statement by the president of the Initiating Committee for the formation of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and fundamental Freedoms, in which it is said that "the basic prerequisites for a just and objective trial of Janez Jansa, Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, and Franci Zavrl have not been ensured."

Joze Smole said that the Presidium has clearly expressed its view of the trial and the situation thereby created, and at the same time it has categorically rejected the thesis that this means any change of position on this problem, or any kind of yielding.

Slovene President Views Trial

AU2007075588 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] The trial of Jansa, Borstner, Tasic, and Zavrl continued before the Military Court in Ljubljana today, the Supreme Military Court in Belgrade having rejected the request that the president of the bench be disqualified. During the trial, which lasted as long as 10 hours today, a crowd of people gathered in front of the Military Court building and disrupted the proceedings by hooting and whistling.

The Human Rights Protection Committee therefore again appeals to everybody to express their protests in a peaceful way and in a manner that will not disturb the work of the court.

This evening, Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, again received a delegation of the committee that expressed the apprehension of the public at large which is growing because the trial is secret and because the rights of the accused are obviously being violated in the judicial proceedings. Janez Stanovnik said that the Presidium was also disappointed at the ruling that the trial be secret, but in his opinion it would not be opportune to react imprudently. He did not agree with the committee appeal for a minute's silence at the beginning of any public event because he felt that an undesirable differentiation would thus occur among people.

Concluding the talks, Janez Stanovnik stated the following:

[Begin recording] We are acrobats on a high wire, and it is normal that the auditorium is quiet during such an act, because the auditorium fears for the outcome of the performance. Therefore I do not want (?to tell you) that we are standing firmly with both feet on the ground and that there is no apprehension.

Precisely because danger exists and I am (?very well) aware of it, I reiterate what Comrade (Remc) has said: I beg you for dignity, peace, and pride of the Slovene people. The moment will come when the Slovene people will assess all this and will draw the necessary conclusions. [end recording]

Vojvodina SAWP Official on Novi Sad Events

AU1907182388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 88 p 2

[Unattributed report on speech by Djordje Milutinovic, president of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference, at the SAWPY Federal Conference session held in Belgrade on 13 July]

[Text] At the beginning of the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference, Djordje Milutinovic, president of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference, presented the chronology of the journey of Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad. Solevic, he said, phoned us on 1 July and said that he would come to Novi Sad, and he mentioned the protest against the Vojvodina leadership's separatism and its insufficient effort to solve the Kosovo situation as reasons for the journey. He expressed the wish that a delegation of 5-6 people be received at the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference. We replied that we needed time for consultations and that we could not reply before 5 or 6 July, which they accepted. Due to weekend and holidays, the consultations were concluded on 6 July and it was announced that they would decide themselves on their visit and that they would bear all consequences. Our view was that it was not necessary for them to come to Novi Sad and that problems should be solved there where they appeared. Of course, we should solve them together, in cooperation among the Vojvodina Socialist Autonomous Province, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. It was said that we are ready to receive and talk to a delegation from Kosovo, but that the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference should also be informed about the people's journey and take part.

Djordje Milutinovic said that representatives of the organizational committee had said that they were satisfied with the fact that they would have the opportunity to present their problems to the SAWP leadership and that they would do their best to have the delegation include as few people as possible. It was agreed that representatives of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference would welcome the delegation. At the same time, Milutinovic said, we were informed by comrades from the provincial reserve officers' federation that Bosko Budimirovic contacted them and announced the visit. On 6 July we sent the SAWP Federal Conference, the SAWP Republican Conference of Serbia, and the SAWP Provincial Conference of Kosovo telex messages about all this. We reiterated that the journey was unnecessary and that we had dissociated ourselves from negative consequences in case of a mass arrival. Also on 6 July, through our information service, we answered a number of specific questions from VECERNJE NOVOSTI. This was given to TANJUG at the same time. Therefore, Milutinovic said, there was no press conference as has now been asserted.

Slavko Obradovic and Joca Vragovic from the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference met Solevic and other comrades from the organizational committee at the Novi Sad Railway Station. A minibus waited for them to take them to the SAWP Provincial Conference. The organizational committee asked us several times to wait for them to decide whether they would come or not. The organizational committee could not agree because some of them said that they did not want to part from the people, and the others refused to form a delegation. They wanted to be given a large hall with microphones for the talks. We said that it was not possible to do this in the SAWP Provincial Conference building, but we provided the largest hall we had for such purposes, and we made special Novi Sad television and radio teams available to make everything public. All accredited journalists were enabled to follow the entire event from the first floor. We were informed that the comrades from Kosovo would go to the center of town. Representatives of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference were waiting for the delegation in the SAWP building, as well as in several places in town. There was no readiness for talks.

The demonstrators, Milutinovic said, reached the building of the Vojvodina Assembly and Executive Council carrying banners and shouting slogans. The main banner read: "Banat and Backa do not want a republic and Pecinci wants it," which was meant to say that there is no unity among these geographic units. Microphones were obtained from the Zeljeznicar folk ensemble, and Solevic spoke about the reasons for their arrival (veteran Spasavalo's speech was prepared in advance and distributed to journalists). When the owner of the Carigrad ice cream parlor refused to plug them into the power supply, it was done in a private apartment, but the power went off. Djordje Milutinovic said that in their speeches, Pampalovic and Zivkovic demanded the abolition of the federal status of the provinces.

Regarding the power cut, Milutinovic said that he did not know how it happened, and that for some time the microphones were plugged in at the Executive Council because it was said that representatives of the SAWP Provincial Conference would take the floor. He added that some other parts of town (Liman) also had no power. After Serbs and Montenegrins had left Novi Sad, we issued an announcement saying that the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference believed that one should talk with citizens but not in the street. Besides, the people who came were mobilized by the organizational committee which included people well-known for their views favoring Vojvodina separatism; in this way, real problems serve those aims that are best known to the instigators of the event. The group of organizers included some militant individuals who advocated that legitimate bodies should not be recognized. They pretended to recognize the SAWP only, but then it turned out later that they do not do so.

Vojvodina Explains 'Closed Session'

AU1907151388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 88 p 1

[S. Stanojevic report: "In Order To Avoid One-Sidedness"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 17 Jul—Today, we learned a few more facts about why the embargo on the closed part of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee session discussing the "Novi Sad incident" was eventually lifted.

The decision to lift the embargo was made by the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, which informed the LCY Central Committee Presidium about its decision before journalists were given the complete shorthand notes taken at the session. The reason for this "opening" was not the "campaign" conducted prior to the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium scheduled for tomorrow, but was the consequence of the fact that the Serbian LC Central Committee failed to respect the LCY Central Committee Presidium's request that there should be no public discussion of the "Novi Sad incident" until the issue is thoroughly examined by the LCY Central Committee Presidium at its session scheduled for tomorrow. In the view of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, this incident was one-sidedly discussed by several members of the Serbian LC Central Committee which violated even the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium's view adopted the previous day that this issue should not be discussed publicly, before the thorough examination tomorrow.

Dr Svetislav Stojakov also pointed this out at the Serbian LC Central Committee session. He was the only "provincial member" that attended the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium session because this session was held on 13 July, at the same time that the sessions of both LC Provincial Committees were held. This is why

neither presidents of the Provincial Committee Presidium could attend the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, at which the report on the "Novi Sad incident" prepared by the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium was "rejected."

At its session, the Serbian LC Central Committee accused the Vojvodina leadership of discussing such a delicate issue in a closed session, behind the people's back, despite the fact that they knew about the LCY Central Committee Presidium recommendation.

All this, and the presentation of some untruths and half-truths about the arrival of the group of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad, as well as the meaning of this act, were the reasons that the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium made a decision last Friday to present for "public examination" everything that had been said 2 days before at the closed session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee.

Otherwise, this part of the session was originally planned to be open. At the session itself, after Janko Drca, secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, had said that this part of the session should be "closed" because this was the view of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, several members of the Provincial Committee—Djordje Radosavljevic, Branimir Brkljac, Bosko Krunic, and Zivan Berisavljevic—insisted that the session be open, because as they said, the "event itself was a public event, and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee had nothing to hide." Only after insistence by the Presidium President Milovan Sogorov that the "request of the LCY Central Committee Presidium should be respected" was it accepted that the session should be partly closed. On that occasion, the Provincial Committee authorized its Presidium to inform the public about the content of the discussion "if the events assume a different course from that prescribed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium."

Since, in the view of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, the discussion at the Serbian LC Central Committee brought about this "new situation," the embargo on the closed part of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee session was lifted on Friday.

LCY Presidium Evaluates Protest

LD1907164688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Following a debate held at its session on 18 and 19 July, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee established assessments and stands in connection with the arrival and protest of a group of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities from Kosovo to Novi Sad on 9 July. In the debate, the participants comprehensively assessed the causes of and reasons for this event, its ideopolitical consequences, and the response it received from the public at large, including the confrontations and divisions which were then brought about in this connection. All of this is having an unfavorable influence on the complex sociopolitical conditions in the country. The Presidium is reported also to have established immediate tasks of the LCY organs and organizations.

Among other things, the LCY Central Committee polemics, unarguable roll calls, and accusations in some LC organs and organizations should stop at once, as well as protest meetings and euphoric and unobjective writing in the public information media.

According to a statement from the session, assessments and stands from the LCY Central Committee Presidium session will be published in the public information media after they have been edited.

Views Kosovo Novi Sad March

AU1907204788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "LCY Central Committee Presidium on the Implementation of the Conclusions on Kosovo: Differences in Assessments Increasing"]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul—As part of the preparations for the 16th LCY Central Committee session which will be held on 29 July, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee discussed a report on current ideopolitical questions in the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo. The report was prepared on the basis of the assessments and data presented by all the LC central and provincial committees and the LCY Organization Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army.

It was assessed that great efforts were invested in the past year and certain results were achieved in stabilizing the situation in the province. However modest they may seem, these results confirm the fact that the situation in Kosovo can be changed more quickly. The most important tasks in the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session are still being implemented slowly and inconsistently, with a lot of formalism, opportunism, and resistance. This applies above all to the halting of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and to their personal and property security. For as long as the emigration of citizens continues and as long as their insecurity prevails, one cannot speak about success in the action in Kosovo.

It was particularly stressed at the session that considerable differences exist—above all between LC bodies of Kosovo and Serbia—in assessing some essential questions of implementing the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session. There are differences in assessing the situation in the province, the intensity of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the separate rallies of members of different nationalities, activity

from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and the reasons for the slow removal of the consequences of counterrevolution. The differences are even greater than they were before the ninth LCY Central Committee session.

The forthcoming LCY Central Committee plenum should therefore present an analysis of the reasons for such differences and find out whether there is readiness and good will to overcome them. These differences must be overcome much more quickly through the joint action of the LC bodies of Kosovo and Serbia, together with the engagement of LCY bodies, and in its further work the LCY Central Committee must express a far greater resoluteness and perseverance in arriving at unified and clear stances when assessing the gravity of the situation and the results of the action in Kosovo.

Particularly worrying is the process of national division in Kosovo and even in the Kosovo LC itself and in its leaderships. It was stressed that resolute steps should be made at the coming sessions of the LC Central Committee of Serbia and the LC Provincial Committee of Kosovo with a view to overcoming the differences, arriving at unified stances, and thereby avoiding further one-sided views and the politicization of problems. One should intensify the struggle against the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists which is increasing as of late, but at the same time also oppose Serb and Montenegrin nationalists who misuse the difficult position of members of these peoples in Kosovo.

In connection with the arrival of a group of Serb and Montenegrin nationals from Kosovo to Novi Sad on 9 July and the unprincipled public confrontations on the eve of, during, and after these events, the LCY Central Committee Presidium believes that rallies, demonstrations, and other forms of undemocratic pressure are politically harmful, and that through them the difficult position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo is misused, intranational relations marred, and an irresponsible campaign launched in a section of the media.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium concluded that the LC Central Committee Presidium of Serbia, the LC Provincial Committee Presidium of Vojvodina, and the LC Provincial Committee Presidium of Kosovo should immediately assess these events, their causes, consequences, and the broad public reactions to them and brief the LCY Central Committee Presidium on their findings. At its next session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium will discuss all this, take stances, and inform the LCY Central Committee.

Milosevic Closes Serbian LC Plenum

AU1907123088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Jul 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia Concluded on Friday Morning After a Discussion Lasting 20 Hours: We Shall Carry Out the Conclusions Fully"]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jul—The scene was really unusual for our political situation: While employed Belgrade people hurried to work and the city "was preparing" to receive the "guests" announced from Velika Kladusa, the members of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, visibly tired, were emerging from the Sava Center at 0530. They had just concluded a 20-and-1/2-hour discussion on the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo, held in June last year.

Although the standpoints were unanimously adopted—after an exhaustive debate in which about 80 members of the top Serbian party leadership took part, either by making speeches, polemicizing, or replying to other speeches—one could not say that the session passed in the same, unanimous atmosphere. On the contrary, the speeches that were full of polemics, that were heated, and at times nervous, demonstrated that there are still many significant differences in the views of the leading people from Serbia, Kosovo, and Vojvodina on the situation in Kosovo, the constitutional changes in the republic, and particularly on the new situation created by the visit to Novi Sad by a group of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. There was the general view that these differences must be overcome as soon as possible, in order to successfully complete the incipient actions.

This rich and many-layered discussion on the Kosovo drama was closed by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee presidium. Milosevic said, among other things: The first results have been achieved and they were discussed at this session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. These results were achieved by the LCY as a whole, the LC of Serbia, and the LC of Kosovo. Therefore, we can note the first signs of people returning to Kosovo, the improvements in the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in some communes, and major economic activities at the republican level aimed at improving the position of the province, particularly the parts that are extremely undeveloped and where the problem of emigration is particularly acute. In any case, a notable mobilization for solving problems in Kosovo is evident in Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic said in his concluding speech.

These results are overshadowed by the fact that we have not ensured the security of citizens and their property, security that would enable them, particularly Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, to live in peace and tranquillity. This is why the main task in Kosovo at present is to ensure the citizens' physical and legal security.

It would be best for this to be ensured by political means, but in the present situation these are not sufficient. Until the situation in Kosovo changes in a positive direction, to the extent that political activity is sufficient to regulate the citizens' position, the state will have to apply the appropriate means. The application of the state means should therefore last until the political means become sufficient for the further regulation of intranational relations, after these have undergone a positive shift. The activities conducted in the past year demonstrated

that this problem can be completely and correctly solved only with all the envisaged systemic changes at the republican, as well as the federal level.

The lively political activity that has been noticed in the republic and beyond, points to the strengthening of democratic relations and democratic forces and announces changes in the economic and political system. This activity contains resistance to the proposed changes, expressed in a more or less civilized way. This resistance comes from various sides which are threatened by the future changes. This is logical. The most vociferous and the most aggressive will be those who are the most threatened, although the threat from the democratic processes that have begun does not apply to national or class interests, but primarily to group or even completely personal interests. A struggle for class interests always bears within itself dignity and nobleness, which the struggle for group or personal interests often lacks. In their political behavior, the exponents of general, social interests will differ from those who promote narrow, personal interests, by way of their dignity and nobleness.

There is no more doubt that the activity of the LC is helping to quash the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and that it will help to solve other problems in our republic. Therefore, changes in the economic and political system that our republic and our country are facing should be understood as a political task that is directly connected with the creation of the necessary conditions for the full and final solution of Kosovo's problems. In the process of realizing these changes, the Communists will have to fight primarily for openness, respect for the majority's views, as well as for those civilized norms that have been respected for some time by bourgeois democracies, which we regard, apparently without any reason, as an inferior form of democracy

However, in addition to the systemic changes that we have embarked upon to provide the objective conditions necessary for the solving of the Kosovo situation, subjective conditions are also necessary, which is to say a maximum involvement of all political organizations, institutions, and individuals. Without the goodwill, readiness, and ability of all these subjective forces of society, the problem of Kosovo will not be resolved, regardless of what solid foundation may be provided by the changes in the system.

It is precisely the present situation in Kosovo that has arisen because poor systemic solutions have gone hand in hand with an absence of will and readiness to solve problems even at an early stage when they were still small. What I am about to say must disappoint all those who are disturbed by unity and who rejoice in disunity; and in this respect the unity in the leadership of the LC of Serbia and the SR of Serbia is encouraging. Unity has not been established so that our terms of office may pass in harmony and so that we may have an easy life in our offices. Unity has been established to enable us to carry out the policy agreed upon both on Kosovo and on all other obligations that have been undertaken in conformity with the decisions of Congress. We shall carry them out fully.

I believe that the past year has clearly shown that the LC of Serbia is prepared to eliminate the counterrevolution in Kosovo, to enable the Serbs and Montenegrins living there and those who would want to return there to live a free and just life, and to protect the numerous progressive honest Albanians who unjustly bear the burden for the hatred and violence that was never theirs.

In the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and in the LC of Serbia in general, we expect greater comradely assistance from all Yugoslav Communists, especially the leaders of the League of Communists in other republics and at the Yugoslav level, first, because the very nature of the Kosovo situation requires it. A counterrevolution is not a local, partial danger. It does not wax and wane locally, without jeopardizing the question of stability of other parts of society and of society in general. Comradely assistance is also imposed by the highest principle of our revolution, brotherhood, and unity. Where this brotherhood is endangered, all the others should unite and commit themselves to its restoration. Even if there was no principle of brotherhood and unity, it is quite beyond dispute that the present position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo should not leave any honest person in Yugoslavia unconcerned.

A great, virtually historic, mobilization is present in the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and in the LC of Serbia. Solving the Kosovo situation is no longer just a political task; it is a matter of our honor before history and before our children. Nobody should therefore wonder at this mobilization and what is said in connection with it. The situation in Kosovo cannot be resolved by pen-pushing, and there is no place for pen-pushing phraseology. Kosovo is a political, ethical, and historical question of Serbia, and words must match this truth. Sad and absurd words like Serbia proper [uza Srbija], and Serbia without provinces, will disappear when this sad and absurd situation in Serbia disappears, a situation that is legally untenable, politically reactionary, and morally unacceptable. At the same time, words like the people, the class, and the public which have been increasingly used, should not be considered grand and rhetorical. Had those to whom these words refer been more present in our political life, the counterrevolution would never have happened.

The LC of Serbia and all the citizens of Serbia should know for certain that we in the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia will invest all our time, all our abilities, and all our patience—just as we did last year, and if possible even more—to restore justice to Kosovo, to restore dignity, and to contribute, in cooperation with other republics and other peoples and nationalities, to Yugoslavia's development as a free and socialist country, and to the recovery of its prestige in the world and its prestige

among its own citizens, Slobodan Milosevic said when concluding the 11th session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. [as published; other sources refer to the session as the 12th]

LCY Central Committee Discussion in Belgrade

AU1307154188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on the discussion at the 15th LCY Central Committee session held in the Sava Center in Belgrade on 29 June]

[Excerpts] It is an undisputable fact, Vlado Hodalj said, that the present LCY Central Committee will be undergoing its most difficult test between now and the end of the year. The complexity and gravity of the current social trends are the most serious warning of that. I think, he said, that putting ourselves in the position of having to convene an extraordinary congress would have unforeseeable consequences for the further course of our revolution. It is not a matter of whether we will all be dismissed and others will replace us. This is the least important and painful. It is a matter of the position and role of the LCY in society, because the question is what kind of conditions we will create for the extraordinary congress and the new LCY if we do not pass this test, Hodalj stressed.

The operative program which we are going to adopt today must very precisely name the places, the time, and the people responsible for the implementation of this program. It should also contain instructions on how we should organize ourselves within the LCY, and what kind of action and steps toward differentiation we should take if the program is not realized.

In the future, we, particularly this LCY Central Committee, must attach the same kind of importance to the social situation as we have done to the implementation of economic and political reforms. This importance should not be in words only, as has often been the case. It is a question of our class affiliation and orientation. If we do not express our direct concern for the socially disadvantaged strata of the population, our chances of winning the political battle are slim, Hodalj warned.

Like Janko Drljaca, who spoke before him, Vlado Hodalj critically assessed the formulation of the proposed stances on strengthening collective and individual responsibilities, which stated that the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, together with the presidiums of the republican and provincial LC committees, should assess their activities and behavior on the basis of the criticism addressed to some members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and "ponder" the need to establish their individual responsibility.

Hodalj reminded those present that the presidiums are executive-political bodies and that, as such, they cannot assess the work of the members of those of its organs that elected them. [passage omitted]

As a rule, official views are one thing while their realization is a completely different thing, Joze Skolar said.

We have the conference, but I wonder whether the conference is really our preoccupation or whether we will again start some other parallel program. I am concerned about this, and the economy would not tolerate these methods. Look at the kind of strikes that we have. Those who faced the workers and spoke to them, like I did, know the situation. If we continue to work like this, the workers will push us into the rivers from Mount Triglav, where the Sava has its source, to the River Vardar. I must say that there is no crowd of officials at these strikes. Officials are not there, except some rare ones who have the courage to face the workers. Officials sit in their offices. The situation is such that no resignations will help us, but will "scatter us" and the workers will reject us, Joze Slokar said.

Thinking about responsibility, both mine and that of all of us, I reached the conclusion that this LCY leadership adopted the most complete program of changes so far. Why did we not do it 8 years ago? I think, Franc Sifkovic pointed out, that we were convinced that we could "pass" with the 1974 provisions. I, too, used to be convinced of it, but it is now clear that we cannot. It is also clear that we have good workers, that we have trained experts, and that many of the leading people are skilled, but also that, all together, we can no longer carry the burden of the impotence of the systemic solution.

What we need are economic results that will be felt by the workers and citizens. If they fail to appear, even that vestige of trust in the LC that we still possess will vanish.

I think that this Central Committee should really distance itself from the FEC, and from the SFRY Assembly, and that it should independently assess the solutions proposed in the assembly. If we do not begin to work in this way, I cannot assume responsibility. The changing of the economic system, Sifkovic concluded, cannot be initiated in the economy, nor in the local community; it can only be initiated in the SFRY Assembly and in the FEC. All the rest is not political, but professional work, so that it is not good for us to envisage setting up a multitude of some kind of working groups. This is the old way.

Without a shift in the economic sphere, we have no chance of changing the political situation in the country, Stane Dolanc said. We could hold hundreds of sessions of the Central Committee and various other organs, but if no progress is made in the economy that would

facilitate an increase in the standard of living, the restructuring of the economy, the strengthening of the economy's material basis, we can hardly regard the future with optimism.

In my view, we have started the economic reform insufficiently prepared, and the LC has not played the role it was supposed to play. I am convinced that our people have not sufficiently understood the meaning of the economic reform and its consequences for the personal and social standard of living, as well as what consequences await us. We approached the economic reform in such a way that people almost think that, since the economic reform has been started, everything will therefore be fine tomorrow. The economic reform will be a long and difficult process, and we should be happy if the first results are achieved in 1 year. I do not believe that they will be achieved before this.

We must overcome the crisis in a democratic way, Dolanc stressed. But what does this mean? This means that we must first of all know precisely what this democratic path is, which is to say that we must know what socialist democracy is. Today, everybody is talking about democracy. In the name of democracy, the simple street mob is trying to impose itself with the simplest and the most vulgar slogans in opposition to the LCY, to everything that exists in this country. Socialist democracy is class democracy, and nothing else. The essence of socialist democracy, class democracy, lies in production relations, in the fact that the worker owns the surplus value that he creates and nobody else.

Speaking about strikes, Dolanc said that they are receiving a new political content in our country. Strikes no longer have an economic character, they not only demand an increase in personal incomes, but are slogans and demands of significant political importance.

I think one of the dangers is that we can get into conflict with the workers class, which is something we warned the Central Committee and the Central Committee Presidium about several years ago. Today, we are in political conflict with various groups. I am not afraid of this conflict, but I am afraid of a conflict with the workers class. We are the workers' party, we are the workers' movement. We must deal with our work organizations differently than we have in the past. Unfortunately, we know more about these potential hotbeds of crisis from the police than from political and party sources. [passage omitted]

The leadership crisis not only affects the LC and its leading organs, but also all other social and state organs, Josip Vrhovec said. We lack an adequate way of conducting national business according to the present tasks and needs. Everybody in the world tells us this. All analysts in the world have noticed that, and they all say that this represents the major obstacle for Yugoslavia to gradually overcome its crisis. If we do not see it but others do, we should discuss and resolve this problem in order to open up new directions for our future activities?

Have we reached an agreement on how to overcome the first stage of the crisis, are we capable of doing this? We are not. Everything that has happened since the LCY Conference proves that we are not. Strikes prove this too. The LC should be seriously concerned when several thousand workers stand in front of the LCY Central Committee and shout: "Thieves, thieves, out!" We must seriously think about this, although I do not think that this is true, but this increasingly seems to be the view of the workers class. Why do they think this? What is the LCY doing?—Vrhovec asked.

What does the democratization of society mean? Is the LC prepared for this battle? Why is the LC leaving the public scene, why are other forces taking over the initiative on the public scene? These are very important questions and we must find answers to them as our contribution to the battle in overcoming the crisis. We must stop behaving as if the conference had not taken place. In interpreting the conference, we are completely confusing LC members. They have several interpretations of the meaning of the conference and its resolutions. Quite contradictory interpretations, which means that we are continuing our battle for the power and dominance of some views, rather than our joint battle to find the best way to overcome the crisis, Josip Vrhovec stressed. [passage omitted]

I think that the role of the LCY Central Committee to date in creating the current political course of the LC as a whole is pale and unrecognizable. For this reason, Milo Djukanovic warned, any further deviation from this task would be inadmissible opportunism and the plagiarizing of confederalist processes in society.

It also seems to me that we have unjustifiably become accustomed to ideopolitical differences in proportions that are not even typical of some ideological heterogeneous parties, and to differences in the methods of work that should not be allowed under the roof of communism. The Central Committee and its Presidium are partly responsible for this, because of their shy behavior.

Because the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium have allowed the helm to slip out their hands, increasingly greater differences have been expressed, and they have been used to build our partial ideologies; and so we make virtues out of differences and set them up as entities. Djukanovic proposed that in its program, the LCY Central Committee take a clear view of the current ideopolitical events in the SR of Slovenia. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the discussion on the LCY Central Committee Presidium's report, Franc Setinc explained that several months ago he had written a letter to Bosko Krunic in which he warned the LCY Central Committee

Presidium about shortcomings in the methods and content of work. I suggested that we look at the problems in order to find out where the mistakes are made and what the Presidium should do to remain up to its tasks. It appears that there is not enough understanding for there to be new relations in the top political leadership in Yugoslavia.

What is hindering us in making a crucial turnabout that would enable us to overcome the crisis and break out of this inflationary, bureaucratic, and opportunistic encirclement? After I had sent a letter, the Presidium held a session, Setinc said, and the comrades agreed that we should hold a broader discussion about these problems. I would also like the members of the Central Committee to think seriously about what should be done for the Yugoslav top political leadership to become more efficient in its work. Let us take more time, let us analyze the trends in some communes and let us objectively assess them, instead of letting dangerous divisions take place. We need more feeling, respect, and consideration, because the diversity of the Yugoslav commune requires that we work with particular consideration, diligence, and responsibility on what is common to us.

In my letter to Comrade Krunic, Setinc continued, I said that I proceeded primarily from dissatisfaction with my work and my results. In the development of the SAWP, there is basically no visible progress. The work in it is underestimated, and by this the reforms too. Although this is not said, it is also present in the method of work of the LC. We still insist on the forum type of work, instead of boldly pushing forward in search of more flexible ways for the free association of people. This is why the cadre changes are of special importance. They require a radical change in the LCY, which will condition all other reforms. This applies to me too, Setinc said. Perhaps I am a politician of an old type, of an obsolete type. I offered my resignation to the Presidium, but it has not been accepted. In fact, the discussion has been postponed.

Setinc said that he was tired, but not, as Comrade Dolanc said, because of too much work, but because of our methods of work which are destroying us without producing results.

Kosovo LC Discusses Intranational Relations

AU1907140688 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 14 Jul 88 pp 1, 4-8

[Isak Hasani, Gani Mulliqi, Mehmet Gjata, Blerim Reka, Ruzhdi Demiri, and Behxhet Haliti report on meeting of Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in Pristina on 13 July: "The Struggle for Emancipation Is a Struggle for Man and His Emancipation"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Rade Glavic stressed that the issue of the equality of peoples and nationalities remains our permanent and most important duty, and said that raising the level of unity in the LCY is at the same time the basis of the further development, not only of political action in this field, but also of self-managing relations in general. This speaker also spoke about the need to overcome differences and achieve unity on the constitutional amendments, especially those of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and the constitutions of the socialist autonomous provinces, and to involve the LCY Central Committee Presidium in bridging the present gulf concerning these changes. Osman Tahiri spoke very succinctly: Citizens on the streets, regardless of nationality, are talking about the same woes—about 800-gram loaves, and how to live today on 100,000 dinars. Deshire Gjurgjalli not only demanded a more detailed examination of the position of Turks in Kosovo, but called for the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to devote a special meeting to this issue. [passage omitted]

Xhumret Selmani devoted part of his speech to the media, and said in this context that it is intolerable that our media should approach the same issue, the same problems, and the same event in different ways, thus bewildering citizens. This results in loss of confidence in the steps being taken by progressive forces to stabilize the situation.

In this context, he said that people cannot be mobilized if their efforts, and successes are continually denied. Action cannot be successfully carried out if doubt is cast on everything under the pressure of activity from positions that disparage the efforts of progressive forces. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item] Emigration From Topola Encouraged [Subhead]

Rame Alihajdari, speaking about individuals and emissaries who exploit the gatherings of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens for destructive purposes, said that they go from family to family, village to village, and meadow to meadow, urging people to sign petitions and saying that they must emigrate en masse, that it is impossible to live with the Albanians, and so forth.

A month and a half ago, people came from Topola and erected four signs in different places in the center of Istok, saying "House with land for sale in Topola, two floors, balcony, garden, favorable terms..."!

We are struggling to keep the Serbs and Montenegrins here, and now people come and call on them to emigrate en masse.

We must tell these people and destructive forces to stop, once and for all, Rame Alihajdari said. [end of boxed passage]

Joining the discussion, Milenko Markovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, began by expressing the view that there are tangible results of political importance in various areas of life in the

province, and that these show that problems can be solved and the situation can be changed for the better, despite the complications and contradictions in the situation in Kosovo and throughout Yugoslavia. This fact should not be underestimated, and offers the hope that further work will yield even greater results. However, I think that, despite the results that have been achieved, as the two reports today have described, relations as a whole in Kosovo have still not changed, and results hitherto still do not guarantee a radical turning point in two areas in particular: in the freedom and security of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens, and in stemming their emigration and encouraging the return of earlier emigrants to live and work here. The fact that emigration is continuing, continues to jeopardize the positive results we have achieved in stabilizing the situation in Kosovo.

According to Milenko Markovic, the efforts that have been made in stemming this process have been partial, and he detected two reasons for this. The first lay in the continued activity of the enemy, since, as he put it, it is a fact that we have not achieved the proper degree of effectiveness in defending the rights and freedoms of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens. Second, progressive forces in Kosovo are still insufficiently organized in specific areas to oppose Albanian nationalism and irredentism. According to Milenko Markovic, a proper answer has still not been given to the question of the extent to which nationalism is also present in the LC and its leadership; the answer to this will have a Yugoslav, and not merely Kosovo dimension, although, in his view, it will carry particular weight in Kosovo, since it is here that the causes and consequences of the counterrevolution that dealt such a blow to intranational relations must be sought.

He went on to describe the need for greater effectiveness in political action and in analyzing the essence of the political indoctrination of young people, since the future of Kosovo can only be built with a common life and with reciprocal trust. Discussing the frequent single-nationality gatherings in Kosovo organized by Serbian and Montenegrin citizens, he recalled that he was entirely in agreement with the view of the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum that these gatherings cannot solve the problems, but he posed the question of what should be done when reasons for these gatherings arise, and how we can put them behind us. He said, I think that we must reach fuller unity on the problems put forward at these gatherings, and that we must at the same time commit ourselves to identifying specific problems, while dissociating ourselves from those people who manipulate citizens' grievances. The LC must enter into more immediate dialogue with the masses, because specific problems can only be solved in their specific milieus, throughout the province, if we are not to leave room for Serbian and Montenegrin citizens from different parts of the province to assemble in specific places. [passage omitted]

Explaining the need for a deeper assessment of the general activity of the LC and progressive forces in stabilizing the situation in the province in the first 6 months of this year, Kacusa Jasari, in her closing speech at yesterday's meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, said that such an assessment was required because of the continued presence of some negative trends which are disrupting intranational relations, and because of the continuing process of Serbian and Montenegrin emigration. [passage omitted]

First and foremost, we have still not put single-nationality gatherings behind us. On the contrary, they have become part of daily life; these should not become a standard method of our work. It is clear that we have not eliminated the causes that give rise to these gatherings, despite the joint commitment of activists from the provincial and republican political aktivs. We are therefore obliged to provide deeper assessments of how these trends can be overcome, and to judge whether they are a consequence of the functional failure of the system, as members of the republican political aktiv say, or whether they are prompted by other causes, as we in Kosovo say. This is a common duty stemming from the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum, which discussed the consequences these gatherings may have, and the further deterioration in intranational relations they may cause.

We are present at these gatherings, but are we sincerely sufficiently committed to solving their problems and working in an ideopolitical way? Are we emphasizing the consequences of the way they are demanding problems should be solved? I do not think that we are sufficiently committed. We must without fail solve problems more decisively and thus restrict the scope for manipulation by forces who are not in favor of the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo and beyond, and who agitate for mass emigration. Can we allow ourselves to be confronted with fresh organizers and saviors who will offer their own solutions to Kosovo issues, because of the inadequacy of our activity, our opportunism, and our tolerance?

All this presents the need for a more responsible stand by the Kosovo LC to solve problems wherever people live and work, and to eliminate them not only through the work of all the institutions of the political system, exposing all the platforms of alien ideologies, reaffirming the policy of national equality and of unity and brotherhood, and insisting upon a more responsible attitude to Kosovo from all parts of the LC.

The broad mobilization of the LC and all progressive forces, in Kosovo first of all, but also beyond, in order to overcome the situation as fast as possible, is only possible with a principled, constructive, and realistic approach to all the problems of Kosovo, and with a critical and self-critical approach to our commitment to meetings of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee.

In conclusion, Kacusa Jasari informed the members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium will shortly evaluate the visit of a group of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens from Kosovo to Novi Sad and their demonstration there. She requested that the Pristina LC Communal Committee should give its assessment first, to which the Provincial Committee agreed. [passage omitted]

Confirms Former Official's Expulsion

LD0607162988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Pristina, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—The Kosovo LC Statutory Commission confirmed at its session today a decision to expel former Kosovo official Dzavid Nimani from the LCY. The decision on this was adopted unanimously after consideration of a complaint which Nimani had sent to this commission.

As is known, Dzavid Nimani was expelled from the LCY by the basic LC organization of the first local community in Pristina last year, based on the assessments and stances of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in connection with the realization of item 18 of the conclusion of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee. These assessments state that Nimani is responsible for mistaken policy which resulted in counterrevolutionary events by Albanian nationalists and separatists in 1981.

Kosovo Press Defends 1974 Constitution

AU1907102188 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Jul 88 p 3

[Mustafa Rushiti commentary: "Attacks on Our Foundations—Attacks on Equality"]

[Text] Now everything is clear. What has so often been heard recently at certain gatherings and on the streets where certain nationalists have been so outspoken, is now repeatedly being said in certain public forums.

Some people have openly attacked the socialist autonomous provinces, alleging that they became equal with the republics under the 1974 Constitution, that they have acquired too many elements of statehood, that they cannot be constituent elements of the federation as well as parts of the SR of Serbia, etc., etc. They are openly attacking the 1974 Constitution, as if it were yet another cause of the attempts at counterrevolution in Kosovo!

In this way, they are unhesitatingly stepping outside the bounds of the platform for constitutional change that was unanimously approved by the highest national party and state leaders and was also supported by the political and self-managing authorities and state authorities in the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces, and are attempting to encroach upon the fundamental principles of the SFRY Constitution.

There is nothing unusual about this today. In the name of the "struggle" against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and against other forms of nationalism and chauvinism, openly anti-self-managing and antisocialist tendencies that are against the equality of our peoples and nationalities long ago appeared on the Yugoslav political scene. These, together with Albanian nationalism and separatism and other forms of nationalism are, sometimes openly and brutally and sometimes covertly, playing a diabolical and exceptionally dangerous game, sowing mutual mistrust, and destroying the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities. Our independence and freedom have always depended, still depend, and always will depend on preserving and strengthening these fruits of the National Liberation War.

Here and there, along with attempts to damage self-management and equality and to restrict the independence and self-managing responsibility of the republics and provinces, and thus the development of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia, there are even—in Tito's name—cries of "The Constitution is not dogma!," "There were four constitutions in Tito's lifetime!," and so forth.

Tito certainly was antidogmatic, just as our entire indigenous, socialist revolution was and is antidogmatic. The most recent LCY program also teaches us that "Nothing we have done can be so sacred to us that it cannot be superseded and put aside in favor of something that is more progressive, more free, and more human!" Moreover, Tito, from the time he assumed the leadership of the Yugoslav CP to his death, bowing neither to Stalin nor to the brutal pressure of the Cominform (1948), fought continually, relentlessly, and with heart and soul to deepen socialist democracy and enrich national equality. He often taught us that the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities is the foundation of our community and must be cherished in our hearts. These fundamental fruits of our revolution are reinforced by ever greater national equality, and by deepening and enriching socialist, self-managing democracy. In this way, we extend the scope for creative socialist forces, and restrict the scope for the activity of nationalism of all kinds, against which we must continue to struggle without concession. However, we must all wage this struggle first of all in our own environments, and then, all together, against every assault on the foundations of our community.

This is what Tito said at the Tenth LCY Congress: "The creation of new relations in the federation is of historic importance. These new relations mean the further development and enrichment of equality among peoples and nationalities, and among the republics and provinces. This is also the basis for further reinforcing brotherhood, unity, and socialist solidarity, and for further strengthening our multinational community. The new character of the federation, first expressed in the amendments, and subsequently in the new Constitution, shows the consistency of the LCY and all socialist forces in developing

relations among our peoples and nationalities according to the foundations on which our entire social system is based... Nationalist forces have experienced these changes in the direction of strengthening self-management as a loss of their own positions. For this reason, they attempted to directly disrupt intranational relations with the aim of diverting the process of social development onto bourgeois nationalist and bureaucratic centralist lines. The LC was forced to embark upon a relentless struggle against these trends and forces that had begun to undermine the unity and the foundations of our community."

This must also be true today for anybody who really wishes to stand loyal to Tito's path. As for the tendencies which attempt to compromise socialist self-management and Tito's policy of total national equality, those who are marked with these tendencies must be shown, if nothing else, that the changes they are fighting for are not revolutionary, but counterrevolutionary. Such a direction, the experience of history has taught us more than once, is mistaken and extraordinarily dangerous, because every move against self-management and equality, and every attempt to impoverish rather than enrich these things, injures the essential fruits of our revolution, injures brotherhood and unity, is to the detriment of the stability of Yugoslavia, and moreover has no connection with democratic developments in the contemporary world.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Leaders Elected

LD0907100888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium today elected by secret ballot Abdulah Mutapcic its president and Ivan Cvitkovic its secretary.

The candidates list also included Nijaz Durakovic for president and Smiljka Milojevic for secretary.

Minimum Income Law Adopted

LD1907145288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today adopted changes to the law on guaranteed personal income which in this republic is received by between 17,000 and 20,000 workers. The reason for the urgent changes in this law was the high growth in prices and living costs over the last 2 months. The increase in the guaranteed income will relate to June personal incomes, and will now be 176,000 dinars. At the same time, the period in which the Republican Statistics Institute should provide data that is used to calculate the level of the guaranteed personal income, has been reduced from 60 to 30 days.

Interior Minister Assesses Security for Tourists

LD1207204788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—The current tourist season is characterized by security for tourists; there are no excesses or any form of threat to our foreign guests. Chances are that full security will continue to be provided for the rest of the tourist season, Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs, said in the SFRY Assembly today.

He was briefing delegates on the Internal Affairs Committee about the security situation during the summer vacation period. Following an extensive discussion, the committee decided to ask the Federal Chamber to consider the security situation in the SFRY during one of its sessions, perhaps even at the one scheduled for the end of July.

Culafic stressed that tourists are safe in our country for the most part because of the efforts by all those involved in the social self-protection system, within which security service officials have been taking comprehensive measures.

It is vital, Culafic stressed, that again this year all those involved in the social self-protection system and especially those in tourism take the necessary measures for self-protection in line with their rights, duties, and responsibilities.

The federal internal affairs secretary said that the current tourist season is taking place in complex socioeconomic circumstances in the country. In addition, as in previous years, hostile emigres have intensified their activities in an attempt to damage Yugoslavia both economically and politically.

One of the forms of hostile activity is propaganda aimed at dissuading foreign tourists from going to Yugoslavia. Messages are being sent to various institutions both abroad and in the country; leaflets and pamphlets with blatant fabrications are being distributed.

The latest in the series of pamphlets distributed in the FRG and aimed at putting tourists off Yugoslavia raise the unreasonable fear of a military coup in some parts of Yugoslavia as early as the end of July, Culafic said. In addition, some extremist groups are maliciously intent on jeopardizing security during the tourist season by taking specific actions.

Speaking in detail about some elements of the country's security situation, Culafic described the situation in Kosovo which is being affected by seriously disrupted intranational relations, continued pressures on the Serbian and Montenigrin population and their continuing migration, organized illegal activity by Albanian nationalists, and aggressive propaganda and other activities by foreign elements directed at Kosovo.

Over 900 people returned to Kosovo after serving prison sentences for Albanian nationalist and separatist activity, but the penal policy and resocialization measures have failed to produce positive effects.

In reference to the importance of safeguarding citizens' freedoms, rights, and personal safety and that of their property in Kosovo, Culafic stressed that he had recently formed a commission with the task of providing an insight into the legality and efficiency of the Kosovo internal affairs offices' work. One of the commission's tasks is to establish how, within their powers, these offices are taking preventive measures to protect the Serbian and Montenegrin population. It will identify possible shortcomings in their work and outline measures needed to ensure that Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as all other citizens in Kosovo, feel free and safe.

A lengthy debate showed that the main issue preoccupying the delegates is the increasing number of strikes and protests in the SFRY Assembly. Ante Beneti was surprised that in light of this, an extraordinary session of the SFRY Assembly had not yet been convened to discuss the issue. Marija Rodic stated that someone has to be held responsible for all that is happening to the workers who have nothing to live on.

Borislav Krajina insisted on establishing a basic income guarantee since, in his view, the situation has been deteriorating gradually. Petar Skoric warned that the time has come for all of us to wake up and start solving mounting problems efficiently and in unity. Other delegates agreed with him.

Albanian Press Criticized on Cominform

AU1707164788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jul 88 p 2

[Vladimir Matovic article: "Smears Against a Neighbor"]

[Text] Tirana's ever-watchful hunters after the sins and errors of Yugoslavia are undiscriminating in the methods and occasions they employ to smear their neighbor. Recently, an occasion has been found in the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Cominform resolution.

In the world at large, let us recall, historians have considered this date to be "an event which will leave a deep mark on the history of relations among socialist countries, and, in a broader sense, will mark a turning point in the development of socialism and of its destiny as a world process which assumes a variety of forms and takes a variety of paths." This date is known in the world at large as the "entry into history" of a small country above all because of its courage in issuing a decisive "No!" to a great power, and its bravery in opposing "a major power's demonstration of military force."

This time we have special reasons to remind ourselves that in the land of our southern neighbor, one tenth our size, this same event is being marked by praise for this great power and its generalissimo. On the very day of the publication of the Cominform resolution, 28 June, the Albanian party organ ZERI I POPULLIT has published 40 years later an article that also stresses the historical significance of 1948. However, when it is a matter of the Cominform resolution, Tirana writes completely differently from the world: "The correctness of the analysis and conclusion" of this document, ZERI I POPULLIT maintains, "has been vindicated by life itself and by the course of events."

It should at once be stressed that not everything said in recent days on the subject of 1948 and on our country has approved, applauded, and praised our courage to the skies. Yet even as regards views that do not run in our favor, but which, according to our belief, are based upon an imperfect understanding of certain facts and circumstances, it would not even enter our heads to rush into such hasty reactions and vigorous argument. We would leave such still unsolved and controversial events to those who are competent—the historians.

What was said in Tirana about the Cominform resolution, and what is recorded in the pages of ZERI I POPULLIT, is completely different. It exceeds the bounds of tolerable criticism, and can least of all be called history. Hundreds of words printed in the Albanian official organ would not prompt a response, were it not for a key issue, or really an attempt to confuse the issue: the idea that the infamous Cominform resolution is based, according to ZERI I POPULLIT, on "principled criticism of the political and ideological line" of the Yugoslav CP. According to the Tirana official organ, everything was and remained on the ideological plane. It is a normal conclusion that there were, are, and always will be ideological differences.

The Cominform resolution was not, alas, merely a question of ideological differences and disputes. It was founded upon the diktat of a great power, on habits of command from the center and the obedience of all the rest. The Cominform resolution was and will remain in world history as a symbol, above all, of crude pressure and coarse means on the part of a great power to subjugate a smaller, weaker, but nevertheless sovereign country.

It is almost superfluous to give evidence of these claims. Voluminous documentary material has been drawn up concerning the acts of aggression and pressure against Yugoslavia. Let us recall one chapter from the "White Book" of the Yugoslav state in 1951:

Military forces are used on the Yugoslav borders as a means of aggressive political pressure. The systematic provocation of incidents on the Yugoslav borders is one form of military pressure against the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia [FPRY]. Direct acts of espionage

and terrorism, the despatch of spies and diversionists, economic aggression, the annulment of firmly fixed contracts, the flouting of trade agreements, the unilateral severance of economic contracts with the FPRY, attempts by governments to present their policy of pressure against the FPRY as "party-minded criticism." Open call upon the peoples of the FPRY to overthrow their own legal government ...

These chapters of documents include facts and figures. Let us merely recall a few: Between 1 July 1948 and 14 October 1950 there were 1,067 incidents on our borders with four Eastern European countries; 148 of our diplomatic representatives were expelled; hundreds of agreements, conventions, and protocols were arbitrarily broken. The Fourth Ordinary Session of the UN General Assembly discussed the aggressive pressure upon Yugoslavia.

There is not enough newspaper space to enumerate all the forms of pressure to which Yugoslavia was subjected between 1948-51, during one of the most difficult periods of its existence. These were years of paying for "ideological errors" with the hunger and unprecedented sacrifice of all Yugoslavs.

It would have been very interesting if Yugoslavia's present economic difficulties—which ZERI I POPULLIT cites as ultimate proof—had been considered in a more serious and expert way: To what extent are they a result of "opening the doors to foreign capital," as Tirana's propagandists claim, and to what extent are they a part of the evil inherited from the time of the enormous material losses and harm that Yugoslavia underwent 40 years ago?

The surprise at the ZERI I POPULLIT salute to the Cominform resolution is not only because this damaging ideological document is stained with the blood of a large number of innocent casualties among border guards, among the large numbers of those condemned in political show trials in Eastern European countries after 1948, and thousands of sufferers in concentration camps ... We are surprised at, among other things, that clear support for a document of this kind can be declared 40 years later by a country that today holds so strongly to its lack of bloc allegiance, and to its independence and sovereignty. We recall that Tirana very frequently and loudly insists upon the danger to small countries from the great powers. Why does it then suddenly offer its support to a document which has remained for the world and for history as a symbol of the pressure of a great power upon another smaller, sovereign country?

All this happens at a time when we are painfully, step by step, achieving some tangible results in improving Yugoslav-Albanian relations. The two most recent Balkan meetings, in Belgrade and Sofia, are two pieces of evidence: They were well-received and greeted as a sign of a new and better climate in the Balkans. It must frankly be said that Yugoslavia has its reasons for improving cooperation and stabilizing relations with its neighbor, Albania. These relations and this cooperation cannot however make progress as long as dark pages and lessons from the past continue to be used, indeed abused, in the way that ZERI I POPULLIT has done recently.

Loncar, Angolan Minister Toasts During Visit

LD1207181188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—"The friendship between our peoples, which began at the time of your struggle for freedom and independence, the mutual solidarity and respect have originated from our similar experiences and identical aspirations. We admire your courage and preseverance in defending your country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and your freedom and independence in conditions which to describe as very difficult would be an understatement. You have our full support in this."

Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, stressed this when he this evening hosted a dinner in honor of Afonso Van Dunem Mbinda, head of Angola's diplomatic service. In his toast Loncar expressed a desire for the Angolan minister's current visit and the current meeting of the mixed committee for economic, scientific and technical cooperation to open up even more favorable prospects for developing comprehensive cooperation between the two nonaligned countries.

The federal foreign secretary said that current rends in international relations are "encouraging hope in the world for greater understanding and detente, which the Nonaligned Movement has been constantly advocating." He added that negotiations between the great powers contribute to the efforts to alleviate contradictions in the world, which still suffers the strain of bloc divisions, mistrust, troublespots, and conflicts.

Loncar particularly stressed that developing countries are greatly affected by delays in implementing changes in the system of international economic relations. Protectionism, delays in economic development, economic pressure, and the especially acute debt problems of developing countries are preventing a speedier development of these countries, budimir Loncar said. He appealed for renewal of North-South dialogue in order to prevent an even greater economic crisis which is threatening stability, development, and peace in the world.

The federal foreign secretary noted many problems of Africa which are exacerbating the efforts of its peoples on the path toward full political and economic emancipation. He advocated offering the widest possible international support to the African continent, without interference, foreign presence and involvements. Loncar stressed the importance of consolidating the OAU's unity and action capability as the real representative of the interests and aspirations of the African peoples.

Budimir Loncar stressed that nonalignment with its activity is proving an indispensible, global and nonbloc factor of international relations, and that the movement is facing a challenge of strengthening further the role of the nonaligned policy in the context of contemporary dynamic changes in the world. "We are making efforts to hold the most successful meeting of the coming ministerial conference of nonaligned countries in Cyprus, which would present a stimulus and contribution to the further realization of decisions adopted at a summit in Harare," the Yugoslav foreign secretary said.

Budimir Loncar stressed that it is the SFRY's constant aim to offer support and assistance to liberation movements of southern Africa and the frontline countries. He expressed hope about a successful outcome of the negotiating process for dealing with the problems of Angola and Namibia.

At the end of his toast Loncar stressed the exceptional importance of forming a fund for Africa, "Which would undoubtedly contribute to reducing the frontline countries' economic and other dependance on the regime in Pretoria."

Replying to Loncar's toast, Angolan External Relations Minister Afonso Van Dunem Mbinda stressed the importance which his country attaches to Yugoslavia's constant support for Angola's struggle to gain and then to safeguard its independence.

The head of the Angolan diplomatic service said that the late Presidents Tito and Agostinho Neto first established and then strengthened the ties of friendship between the two countries and their people. These relations, based on respect for equality, continue to develop. Thus the two countries reiterate in practice their adherence to the fundamental principles of the nonaligned policy, Mbinda said.

In his toast the Angolan minister spoke in greater detail about Angola's difficult position. He said that since independence in 1975 Angola "has not had a single day of peace." "The racist regime in South Africa is the cause of such a situation and the tension in our region which has been affecting all the frontline states," Afonso Van Dunem Mbinda explained. In addition, he denounced Pretoria's occupation of Namibia and called for the implementation of the UN resolutions providing solutions to this continuing problem. Mbinda stressed that the Angolan Government wants to make a constructive contribution to the search for negotiable solutions to the crisis in southern Africa. "In that context the meeting of experts from Angola, Cuba, the United States, and South Africa which starts in the United States today is yet further evidence of Luanda's peaceful policy," he added. He also said that "providing our sovereignty and territorial integrity are respected, Angola may show flexibility in setting the dates for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola.

Mbinda stressed that he hopes that in the "more or less" near future a way will be found for the independence of the people of Namibia in line with UN Security Council Resolution 435 and for Angola's peace.

The Angolan foreign minister paid particular attention to international economic problems, especially those affecting the African continent. In this context Mbinda drew attention to Angola's efforts to overcome mounting economic and financial difficulties facing it.

"We reiterate our unconditional loyalty to the principles and programs advocated by the nonaligned countries aimed at creating a new international economic order and promoting and enhancing South-South cooperation," Van Dunem Mbinda said.

On behalf of the Angolan Government, Kbinda expressed readiness to strengthen all aspects of his country's relations with Yugoslavia, especially in the sphere of economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

Loncar Visits Harare for Official Talks

Meets With Nyerere

LD0607163688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0017 GMT 6 Jul 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Harare, July 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar spoke here tonight with the South-South commission president, former Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere, about current international problems, especially the topics which will be on the agenda of the ministerial meeting which opens in Zimbabwe's capital tomorrow.

Loncar and Nyerere exchanged views on actions which the non-aligned and other developing countries are taking towards reopening the North-South dialogue.

As learned, the activities of the South-South commission were also considered. The commission president will speak at the ministerial meeting tomorrow.

Loncar today also held separate talks with Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, Dr. Butrus Ghali, Ghanaian foreign secretary, Dr Obed Asamoah, and Indonesian Government member Salim.

During the talks, views were exchanged on the ministerial meeting and other activities of the Non-aligned Movement, as well as bilateral relations.

Need for North-South Dialogue Stressed

LD0607222588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Harare, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—The nonaligned and other developing countries today invited industrialized developed countries to start a constructive North-South dialogue about all key economic problems without the resolution of which mankind's prosperity, peace, and security in the world will not be possible.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, in his capacity of the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, this morning in Harare opened a 2-day ministerial meeting of the nonaligned and other developing countries aimed at identifying strategies necessary for revitalising North-South dialogue.

President Mugabe emphasized the fact that the South, desparate to embark on overall development, was at the moment in the grip of the foreign debt worth $1.2 trillion as a result of unequal and unjust economic relations in the world. [passage omitted]

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who spoke at the opening ceremony on behalf of all the participants in the meeting, emphasized that meetings by nonaligned and other developing countries should primarily focus on how to create conditions for resuming North-South dialogue.

Loncar drew particular attention to the need for the South to show flexibility, practical sense, and reality in the action to revitalise North-South dialogue. In his view, the deep and rapid changes on the world's political and economic scene have provided fresh opportunities that the South should not miss.

Our objective lies in establishing ties and encouraging the positive developments evident in the attitude of the developed countries to international economic problems and developing countries, Loncar said.

In reference to the long-term goals of the nonaligned and other countries, Loncar said that the South's practical and realistic attitude should be met by the positive reaction from the North.

The federal secretary, who is also the head of the Yugoslav delegation, noted that the South had always favored a constructive dialogue with the North and stressed that "our efforts should be directed toward integrating the nonaligned and other developing countries into the world economy."

This new approach by the South to a dialogue with the North would, according to him, also stimulate a new way of thinking within the Nonaligned Movement, thus paving the way for readjustment to the latest developments in the world.

The head of the Yugoslav delegation, who on this occasion paid tribute to President Mugabe for the latter's efforts to contribute, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, to the nonaligned countries' action designed to bring about peace, stability, and development in the world, expressed his belief that the ministerial meeting in Harare would signify a particular watershed in the efforts to resume North-South dialogue.

Following the opening ceremony, the standing ministerial committee for economic cooperation among nonaligned and other developing countries went into its first working session.

Further Report

LD0707114588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1038 GMT 7 Jul 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Harare, July 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar was among the first speakers at the opening of the first session of the permanent ministerial committee for economic cooperation between non-aligned and other developing countries.

Speaking at the meeting, the Yugoslav foreign secretary said:

The task of the committee at this session is to contribute to the revitalization of the North-South dialogue. It is therefore incumbent upon us to make sure that the positions and proposals to be arrived at, correspond to existing realities.

In doing so, we should demonstrate and prove our ever present wish to seek and find in dialogue and negotiations, together with developed countries, satisfactory and mutually acceptable solutions.

The ultimate goals should not prevent us from acting in a pragmatic manner, from being flexibile and even prepared to accept small steps taken in the right direction. In these endeavours we should be open to both East and West. Our primary objective must be our integration into the world economy, for only in this way can we influence it.

There is no doubt that the option of the great powers for negotiations instead of confrontation constitutes, at this stage, the driving force of a new development. Our orientation to develop and re-examine the strategy of our approach should proceed from the fact that the world is divided not only in blocs, but also into the developed and the developing world.

International economic relations have an increasing impact on political relations. This was also evidenced at the recent summit meetings of the seven major Western industrial powers in Toronto. The purpose of the meetings of the seven was originally to address their own

problems and relations, but as time went by these countries have come to the conclusion that the world economy is single and that the structural problems of the developed world are indivisible from those of the world as whole. That is why they were bound to take up, and to devote considerable attention to those broader issues and aspects.

Therefore, we should make every effort so that the economic problems, economic relations and cooperation with developed countries be accorded the highest priority.

We, for our part, should abandon maximalist, sometimes unrealistic demands and revandications [French word for "claim"]. The superpowers have recognized that confrontation is only leading to the verge of the abyss. We, too, should sober up. We should endeavour to make the most of those positive elements in the way of thinking of our partners which would enable us to get our own interest, but also in the broader global sense.

This committee should be the forerunner of such a way of thinking and action.

The developing countries' external debts today are the most striking form of structural imbalances in the world economy and in internaitonal economic relations. They are not only a financial and economic but also a major political problem. In fact one of the most serious problems facing the international community.

With time, some evolutions can be noted in the sense of a greater understanding on the part of creditors for the debtors' position and of the influence of external factors on the possibilities of ensuring the foreign exchange required for meeting external financial obligations.

Such trends in the behaviour of some creditors, however, still do not offer real prospects for the resolution of the debt and development crisis. The case-by-case approach continues to be creditors' unchanged strategy.

We must persist in our efforts to ensure the most favourable terms concerning maturity, grace period, interest margin, etc, in the multi-year reschedulings, to have the external debt-servicing become dependent of growth, to ensure that net capital out-flow be replaced by net capital inflow to debtor countries, to have the volume of external debts reduced to their market value.

These and other proposals offer possibilities for exerting further pressure on creditors. Would it perhaps be appropriate to examine in greater detail the South commission's proposal for the establishment of a debtor's forum?

We also wonder whether it would not be in the mutual interest of both creditors and debtors to launch an initiative, in co-operation with and with the support of the United Nations, the IMF, and the World Bank, to establish a body in which the debtors and creditors would have an opportunity to discuss in an informal manner, with the broad participation of experts, politicians, parliamentarians, academics, various aspects of the developing countries debt and to reach in such dialogue new ideas which could open up prospects for better solutions of the debt problem.

This committee is not a negotiating forum. The Group 77 has such a role. The committee, as an operative body of the movement of non-aligned countries, can make, I would say, a great contribution to the realization of the movement's policy.

The committee should not emulate the summit and ministerial conferences of non-aligned countries at which the policy is formulated or to produce documents having more or less the same contents.

The concluding documents of this session of the committee should be brief and make precise recommendations to the negotiating mechanisms of the developing countries.

Delegation Departs

LD0807081588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0013 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Harare, July 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar left Harare for Belgrade this evening after heading Yugoslavia's delegation to the non-aligned and developing countries ministerial meeting in Harare.

During his stay in Harare, Loncar was received by movement of nonalignment chairman, Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe. Mugabe accepted the Yugoslav State Presidency's and State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic's invitation to visit Yugoslavia with pleasure.

Loncar met with Zimbabwe Foriegn Minister Nathan Shamuyarira on several occasions and exchanged views on the activites of the non-aligned countries, topical international problems, and further promoting bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe.

Economic cooperation was the main topic of today's talks between Loncar and Zimbabwe Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero.

Loncar held intensive consultations with the foriegn ministers and other delegation heads of the countries which participated in the Harare meeting.

Loncar Returns

LD0907150888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—Budmir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, returned this evening to Yugoslavia from Zimbabwe. Loncar led the Yugoslav delegation to a session of the permanent ministerial committee for economic cooperation between non-aligned and developing countries in Harare.